













E L E M E N T S  
O F  
G E N E R A L H I S T O R Y .

T R A N S L A T E D F R O M T H E F R E N C H

O F T H E

A B B E M I L L O T .

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P A R T S E C O N D .

*Modern History.*

I N T H R E E V O L U M E S .

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S E C O N D A M E R I C A N E D I T I O N .

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S A L E M :

P R I N T E D A N D S O L D B Y T H O M A S C . C U S H I N G .

M D C C X C V I .

1796

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN

TRIBE

OF

THE

STATE OF

NEW

YORK

AND

THE

ADJACENT



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# C O N T E N T S

OF THE

## F I F T H V O L U M E.

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### Continuation of the Modern History.

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[From the Year 1624, to the Beginning of the Reign of Louis XIV.]

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# E L E M E N T S

OF

## GENERAL HISTORY.

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### Continuation of the Modern History.

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#### THIRTEENTH EPOCH.

*The HOUSE of AUSTRIA humbled.—The PARLIAMENT of ENGLAND gives Law to the Sovereign.*

[From the Year 1624, to the Beginning of the Reign of Louis XIV.]

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#### CH A P. I.

*First Years of Richelieu's Ministry.—Taking of Rochelle.—  
Cabals and Rébellions.*

A NEW system of policy is now ready to disclose itself, and change the face of Europe. A superior genius, governing the French monarchy, ruling the weak king with absolute dominion, bending the audacity of the Calvinists and the seditious ambition of the grandes to the yoke, will astonish the world by the greatness of his enterprises; he will shed rivers of blood; he will rule with a rod of iron, render France miserable, and be dreaded and hated as much as admired; but his ministry will make one of the principal epochs in  
VOL. V. B history,

General  
idea of  
this epoch.

history, by the revolutions and celebrated events which it will produce. The most brilliant, even the most necessary, parts of history, are seldom any thing but dreadful tragedy.

1621.  
How  
Richelieu  
rose to the  
ministry.

Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, for several years aspired to the government. Being a creature of Concini, and involved in his disgrace, he had put on a mask of indifference, and even piety, which imposed only on those who did not know him. By making peace between the queen mother and Louis XIII. (1619) he had procured for himself a cardinal's hat; and Mary Medici, having recovered her seat in the council, used her utmost endeavours to procure admittance for him, though the king had excluded him by an express stipulation. That devout prince was not only shocked by the gallantries of the cardinal, but dreaded his ambitious temper, and the superiority of his genius; yet he yielded to the queen's importunities, though resolved not to entrust the authority with a man of such a character. Richelieu gave out, that his ill state of health made him unable to go through the fatigue of business; but it was not long before he pulled off the mask; and the speedy disgrace of two ministers who opposed him, was a prognostic of that absolute authority which he was desirous to assume. He became prime minister and all powerful only in 1629; but from his first entrance into the council, he had the chief influence in all affairs.

Great political  
views, but  
no economy.

The ministry no more acted at random, without any fixed aim, nor with a weakness that rendered it contemptible. The state of Europe was considered, in which it was seen that France ought to interest herself; and the plan of Henry IV. was resumed, to curb the power of the house of Austria, which Ferdinand II. was every day rendering more formidable; negotiations were carried on in the different courts, and preparations made for vigorous enterprises. The success of these might have been ensured by a good system of economy; but Richelieu was of a character entirely different from



from Sulli. Haughty, unjust, and tyrannical; through the whole course of his administration he neglected the principal resources of the state, those which a mild and prudent government finds in the happiness and affection of the subjects.

James I. suffered himself to be drawn into the political schemes of Richelieu. That weak monarch, with a view to restore the elector palatine, his son in law, had long negotiated a treaty of marriage between his son (Charles I.) and the infanta of Spain, notwithstanding the aversion of the English from an alliance with that country. Young Charles, impatient of the delays, by the advice of Buckingham, and accompanied by that rash favourite, had executed the romantic project of going to pay his court to that princess in person. He had pleased, attracted esteem, and the affair seemed to be concluded; when the duke of Buckingham, having drawn upon himself the hatred of the Spaniards by his insolence and debauchery, gave the prince of Wales a disgust to the match, took him out of the country, caused the whole negotiation to be broken off, and rendered a war unavoidable, of which James could not even bear the thoughts. The court of France, taking advantage of this conjuncture, gave Henrietta, sister of Louis XIII. to Charles, with eight hundred thousand crowns for her portion. Thus did England become an enemy to the house of Austria.

Negotiations for the marriage of the prince of Wales with the infanta.

England allied to France.

James died the following year (1625) amidst the vexations given him both by this rupture and the attempts made upon his prerogative within the kingdom. A new parliament had a little before abolished all monopolies. The bill declared, that every subject may freely dispose of his own actions, provided they be not injurious to any other person; and that this right can be limited by no authority except the laws. Charles I. who inherited the principles of his father, and like him was guided by the counsels of Buckingham, began in troubles an unfortunate reign, which he was destined to end upon a scaffold.

Death of James I.

Remarkable bill.

Affair of  
the Valte-  
line.

The war of the Valteline gave an early proof of the vigour of the French ministry. That small province, which was subject to the Grisons, having risen in rebellion, solicited the assistance of the Spaniards; and as the Valtelines were Catholics, and the Grisons Protestants, the court of Madrid coloured their intention of keeping it, with the religious pretext of securing it from the ravages of heresy. Accordingly some fortresses were erected in it by the governour of the Milanese, and a communication was by that means opened with Germany. Soon after this enterprize, Spain, by a treaty concluded with France in 1621, obliged herself to restore the Valteline to the Grisons, but the treaty was not carried into execution; and though negotiations were again set on foot, they ended only in sequestrating the fortresses of that province in the hands of the pope. But when Richelieu became minister, he took a short method to get over the difficulties, by entering into a league with Venice and the duke of Savoy; after which a French army drove out the garrisons of Urban VIII. and restored matters to their former condition. From that time Europe reckoned that the court of France was rousing from its lethargy. Another league was concluded with Holland, which, after the expiration of the truce in 1621, had again been attacked. However, Spinola found means to force Breda, after a siege of ten months.

1625.  
France  
puts an  
end to it  
with vi-  
gour.

League  
with Hol-  
land.

Peace  
with the  
Hugue-  
nots.

The Huguenots, who were always injured and always seditious, having again taken arms, Richelieu resolved to break their power; but the circumstances were not yet ripe. Though their fleet had been defeated, and they were driven out of the isle of Rhée, they obtained the same advantageous terms of peace as before. The cardinal, to use his own expression, thought that he must *again give the world occasion of scandal*, that he might act with vigour against the house of Austria. Virulent libels were published against him, in which he was styled the *patriarch of the Atheists*; but, though

Richelieu  
treated  
with four-



though he was too much affected with those contemptible pieces of ribaldry, he pursued his plan with ardour. He had already filled the great men of the kingdom with apprehensions, by his attempts to bring them under obedience; defied the resentment of Gaston, duke of Orleans, the king's brother; and not only intrigues, but conspiracies, were formed against him. Never had minister so many enemies or difficulties to encounter; but these only served to give vigour to his genius; and the ambition to which he was a prey, inspired him with a courage that necessarily surmounted all opposition.

His vast political designs might be obstructed by the commotions of the Huguenots; but their ruin was hastened by a sudden rupture between England and France. Ever since the marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta, the inconsiderate zeal of the Catholics, who had been attached to the service of the queen, had secretly irritated the nation; but the discontent had only shewed itself in murmurs, when Buckingham engaged the kingdom in the quarrel of the Calvinists, in order to gratify a foolish passion. That imprudent minister, being desirous of paying another visit to the queen of France, Anne of Austria, with whom he had the insolence to fall in love, had taken a journey into that country, under pretence of signing a treaty against Spain. But the cardinal, being informed of his sentiments, caused him to be denied admittance at court; when, out of resentment for this refusal, and jealousy of the cardinal, he determined his master in favour of the Huguenots, who were projecting a new rebellion. Charles entered upon this unnecessary war in very critical circumstances, while the parliament was making warm opposition to the regal power; and trusted the management of it to his minister, who, from incapacity, miscarried in the first campaign. Thus do ridiculous caprices become the spring which sets governments in motion, and a wrong choice exposes princes to irreparable misfortunes.

1627.  
Buckingham arms  
England  
in favour  
of the Huguenots.

Richelieu

Richelieu  
besieges  
Rochelle.  
A memo-  
rable siege.

Richelieu then executed one of the most glorious enterprises in his ministry. He attacked Rochelle, the bulwark of the Huguenots; shut up the port against the English, by a dyke which was amazingly constructed in the sea; and commanded the troops in person, with all the valour and skill of an accomplished general. In vain did the mayor Guiton, shewing a dagger and laying it upon the council table, declare, that with that dagger he would stab the first who spoke a word of surrendering. In vain did the two dutchesses of Rohan animate the fanatical courage of the besieged by their example. Buckingham, who was on the point of setting sail with a new fleet, having been assassinated, the English arrived too late, and were repulsed before the dyke. After eleven months resistance, the inhabitants of Rochelle, exhausted by all the horrors of famine and war, were constrained to submit. They lost their privileges; their fortifications were destroyed; but, at least, they were left in possession of their property, and liberty of conscience.

1628.  
The town  
surrenders  
at the end  
of eleven  
months.

Difficul-  
ties of that  
conquest.

This conquest cost forty millions. Louis XIII. assisted several months at the siege, and exposed himself to danger with heroic bravery. In personal courage he was equal to Henry IV. though so much his inferior in every other respect. However, Richelieu boasted that he had taken Rochelle, maugre the opposition of the king of Spain, the king of England, and the king of France. In fact, the jealous and ambitious lords had used their utmost endeavours to thwart him with the king; and though the court of Madrid had engaged to second him against the Calvinists, their fleet appeared without doing any thing. It is said to have retired under a frivolous pretext, only because Louis refused to the admiral the privilege of being covered in his presence. It is more probable that the admiral had orders not to act.

Peace with  
the Cal-

The religious war was terminated in the following year, (1629) when the duke of Rohan obtained advantageous



tageous terms, as he had always done. The Calvinists preserved the public exercise of their worship. By losing their fortresses, they lost the dangerous facility of supporting a civil war. If no tyranny was exercised against their consciences, they might become good subjects; and Richelieu was a man of too great abilities to rekindle a fanaticism which would naturally die away in a calm.

Before the end of this war, another was begun in Italy, to secure the succession of Mantua to Charles Gonzago, duke of Nevers, lawful heir to the last duke Vincent, who died in 1627. He was opposed by the emperor, the king of Spain, Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, and almost all the states of Italy; but the arms of France were triumphant. Louis put himself at the head of an army, gloriously forced the pass of Susa, compelled the duke of Savoy to join him, obliged the Spaniards to raise the siege of Casal, and returned to combat the Huguenots. In the second campaign, (1629) Richelieu, who was named prime minister with unlimited power, signalized his military skill. Charles Emanuel, who had broken his engagements, being pressed on every side, and his fortresses taken, died of vexation. But, without descending to particulars, let us content ourselves with observing, that, at the end of the year 1630, the Imperialists evacuated Mantua, of which they had taken possession.

War of  
Mantua  
glorious to  
France.

If the French minister had at heart the glory of the state, on which his own depended, he was no less attentive to support his own fortune against the cabals that were perpetually springing up. By giving the king an opportunity for exercising his courage in the war of Italy, he thought that he had freed himself from the uneasiness given him by the court intrigues. But Louis falling sick in Savoy, and returning to Lyons, where his distemper became very dangerous, the two queens, Mary Medici and Anne of Austria, took advantage of his weakness, and determined him to ruin the cardinal; but,

The two  
queens  
fruitlessly  
attempt  
the ruin of  
Richelieu.

but, after the king's recovery, the minister found means to dispel the storm, which, notwithstanding, soon broke out afresh with redoubled violence. He already thought of retiring, and was contriving means to secure his treasures, when he luckily found an opportunity of coming to an explanation with Louis; and the first conversation produced a total change. Such is the influence which genius can acquire over a weak mind!

He re-  
venge him-  
self on  
Marillac,  
& even on  
the queen  
mother.

The minister's revenge was equal to his power. He imprisoned Marillac, the keeper of the seals; arrested his brother, the mareschal de Marillac, who then commanded the army in Piedmont, a nobleman respectable for his services, and caused him to be tried by commissioners, who were rather the instruments of his passion than ministers of justice. The indictment turned upon some abuses in the command of the army, which were then but too common; and the mareschal lost his life on a scaffold. The queen mother herself fell a sacrifice, and was sent prisoner to Compeigne, whence she made her escape to Brussels, where she lived in want even of necessities.

Revolt of  
Gaston.

Gaston, the king's brother, retired to Lorraine, to secure himself, as he said, from tyranny; and his attendants were declared guilty of high treason. Soon after he took arms, and drew the mareschal de Montmorenci into his rebellion, which was followed by new acts of vengeance. The brave Montmorenci, who a little before had beaten the Imperialists, the Spaniards, and the duke of Savoy's troops, at Vegliana; who was universally beloved; whose pardon every man wished for, and whose repentance deserved clemency, was mercilessly given up to the executioner. Neither the king nor the minister had any idea of gaining men's hearts by forgiving.

Montmo-  
renci is  
beheaded.

While these dreadful executions were multiplied in France, and, in some measure, revived the reign of Louis XI. Richelieu fomented the famous war in Germany, of which it is now time to trace the progress.

CHAP.



## C H A P. II.

*Ferdinand II. disgusts the Germans by his Despotism.—  
State of the North.—Gustavus Adolphus united with  
France.—Events of this War till 1635.*

WE have seen the emperor Ferdinand II. following the steps of Charles V. openly attacking the Germanic liberty, depriving the elector Palatine of his dominions, conferring that electorate on the duke of Bavaria, crushing the Protestant league, and spreading terror on every side, by means of his generals. But his despotism, his ambition, and even his successes, were less calculated to make him master of Germany, than to stir up enemies against him; and he was doomed one day to feel, that crushing the one was arming the other.

Christian IV, king of Denmark, a prince instructed in the sciences, brave, and fond of glory; in league with France, England, and Holland; general of the circle of Lower Saxony, of which he was a member, in quality of duke of Holstein; for some years defended the cause of the unhappy Frederic; and the celebrated Mansfeld, who, having retired into Holland, increased his reputation by obliging Spinola to raise the siege of Bergen op Zoom, had afterwards attached himself to the service of Christian. But Ferdinand's generals, Tilli and Wallstein, joined to the most uncommon capacity a force too much superiour to their opponents. The king of Denmark, after seeing the enemy in his country, made peace in 1629, upon advantageous terms, agreeably to the wishes of Wallstein, who by this means hoped to keep possession of the dutchy of Mecklenburgh, which had been lately granted him by the emperor.

By what means Ferdinand had made himself formidable to Germany.

Christian IV. made war against him for some time.

Mansfeld.

Tilli, Wallstein.

Peace with Denmark.

Putting

New acts  
of despot-  
ism by  
Ferdinand

Putting the dukes of Mecklenburgh and Mantua under the ban of the empire, and the nomination of an archduke to the see of Magdeburgh, though there was a coadjutor of the house of Saxony, were new strokes of Ferdinand's despotic authority; which he seemed to carry to the utmost height, by his edict of 1629, ordering the Protestants, without distinction, to restore the ecclesiastical lands, of which they had been in possession ever since the year 1555, and permitting the Catholic princes to drive out the Protestants who were settled in their dominions; the whole under penalty of the ban of the empire to whoever should oppose the execution of that edict.

Edict  
against  
the Pro-  
testants.

The spirit  
of liberty  
revived in  
the states.

So violent a proceeding necessarily inspired the greater alarms, as the emperor's troops, to the number of one hundred and sixty thousand men, were laying waste the country, and committing dreadful acts of extortion, while the states groaned under the arbitrary imposts which he levied. According to M. Pfeffel, the margrave of Brandenburg alone had paid twenty millions of crowns in less than four years. Ferdinand's views are expressed by a famous saying of Walstein, who used frequently to repeat, that—*The electors must be reduced to the condition of the Spanish grandees, and the bishops to the rank of chaplains to the emperor.*

Appre-  
hensions  
of the em-  
pire.

But at last men's eyes were opened. Even the princes of the Catholic league perceived the yoke with which they were threatened as well as the others. They assembled at Heidelberg, from whence they sent a deputation to the emperor, praying him to restore the peace of the empire, to dismiss part of his troops, and to put an end to the grievances of the states. The electoral diet which was held at Ratisbon the following year, 1630, shewed the disposition of men's minds in the clearest light. This meeting, before it granted any thing, insisted on the disbanding of sixteen thousand cuirassiers, and the dismissal of Walstein, who commanded with absolute power; and to this Ferdinand consented,

Diet at  
Ratisbon  
thwarts  
the empe-  
rour.



consented, thinking that he could ensure success to his demands. But every thing was refused him; not only the succours which he required for the war, but the title of king of the Romans for his son. This was a salutary lesson, if he would have taken counsel from experience.

However, the edict of *restitution* was rigorously put in execution. Except the elector of Saxony and the margrave of Brandenburg, all the Protestant princes submitted, as they had neither the courage nor the power to resist. They testified their discontent only by complaints; and the murmurs grew to such a height, that the elector of Bavaria proposed to let that fatal edict *sleep* forty years. The emperor, on the contrary, would listen to nothing, and redoubled his violences; but the time was come when the liberty of Germany was to find an avenger in Gustavus Adolphus. To be well acquainted with this hero, it is necessary to have some idea of the state of the North, and especially of Sweden, at that period,

Discontentments raised by the edict of restitution

From the time of Gustavus Vasa we meet with scarcely any thing interesting in the North. Neither the wars of the Danes, Swedes, Poles, and Muscovites, against one another, nor the revolutions that happened in those countries, where the sceptre passed from hand to hand at the pleasure of the strongest, have any connexion with the general system of Europe. Let us observe in a few words the most remarkable facts.

Nothing interesting in the North since the time of Gustavus Vasa.

Eric, son of Gustavus Vasa, having lost his crown and liberty by a sentence of the states of Sweden, which found him guilty of several crimes, his brother John was substituted in his place, who attempted in vain to restore the Catholic religion, which he professed. He died in 1592. It is remarked, that he had no physician; so totally were the arts still unknown in that country. Sigismund, son of John, who some years before had been elected king of Poland, joined his paternal dominions to that crown; but his too great zeal

Eric deposed in Sweden.

John, a Catholic, unsuccessful.

Sigismund deposed on account of his zeal for the Catholic religion.

for the Catholic religion drawing on him the hatred of the Swedes, who were zealous Lutherans, he was deposed, and Charles IX. his uncle, put in his room.

Charles IX. father of Gustavus Adolphus.

The Poles engaged in a war for Sigismund, but without success; Charles kept the crown till his death, and in 1611 was succeeded by his son, the famous Gustavus Adolphus.

Revolutions in Russia.

This was the time when Russia fell a prey to civil wars. The czar Theodore had given orders to put to death his brother Demetrius, and was himself poisoned, or at least is imagined to have been poisoned, by his brother in law Boris, who had advised him to commit the murder, and succeeded to the crown. Soon after

Several counterfeits personate Demetrius.

came from Lithunia a young man, who affirmed that he was prince Demetrius; and, being supported by a Polish army, caused himself to be acknowledged. But his court being filled with foreigners and Catholics, he soon became an object of detestation to the Russians; when Zuski, a nobleman of distinction, having raised a rebellion, slew him, and placed himself upon the throne; but another impostor appearing, (who called himself the true Demetrius, and claimed the crown as such) and marching towards Moscow with the troops of Sigismund king of Poland, the boyards, or Russian lords, dethroned Zuski; but, notwithstanding, refused to acknowledge the pretender, who fell by the hands of assassins. Other counterfeits, personating Demetrius, appeared upon the stage, and stained it with blood. Russia, immersed in barbarity at that time, presented only dreadful spectacles, to which polished nations paid little attention.

Glorious beginnings of Gustavus Adolphus.

But young Gustavus Adolphus shewed himself worthy of attracting the attention of all Europe. Scarce was he seated on the throne, when he signalized himself against the Danes, who were enemies to his crown. Afterwards, taking advantage of the peace, of which he stood in need, he applied himself to the duties of government, and remedied the public evils by judicious laws and a wise administration. In a war against the  
Russians



Russians he conquered almost all Finland, which was secured to him by a treaty. The king of Poland treating him as an usurper, and refusing the peace, which he always offered with arms in his hands, he marched victorious into Prussia, Livonia, and Lithuania; after which a truce of six years, concluded with Sigismund in 1629, enabled him to turn his arms against Ferdinand II.

To this step he was determined by several motives. The emperor had encouraged and succoured the king of Poland, dismissed the Swedish ambassadors with contempt, and formed a project for acquiring the dominion of the Baltic Sea. The tranquillity of Europe, the liberty of Germany, the interest of the Protestant religion, all contributed to furnish reasons or pretences for a war. Fewer motives were sufficient to inflame the heart of a hero.

Motives which induced him to the war against Ferdinand

Luckily his political talents were equal to his courage. He negotiated alliances with all the powers; and cardinal Richelieu eagerly embraced an opportunity so correspondent to his own views. At the beginning of the year 1631, was concluded the famous treaty between the two crowns, by which Gustavus obliged himself to keep up an army of thirty six thousand men, and Louis XIII. engaged to pay him twelve hundred thousand livres annually. This subsidy was very small for such an enterprise; but the king of Sweden's principal resources were in his own genius and talents.

1631.  
Treaty between France & Sweden.

Active, indefatigable, prudent, and intrepid, this prince was a perfect master of the art of war. He took his measures with consummate prudence, put them in execution with astonishing vigour, kept his troops in the strictest discipline, animated them by his example, captivated them by his generous bounty, and, in a word, inspired them with his own heroism. Officers and soldiers were eager to defy all dangers for his sake. He was then thirty five years of age, and had all the experience of an old general. His army, which at first consisted

Great qualities of Gustavus.

sisted of only fifteen thousand men, was soon increased to forty thousand; crowds flocking from every quarter to range themselves under his standards.

Astonish-  
ing success  
of his first  
campaign.

Having made himself master of the isles of Ruden, Rugen, &c. Pomerania and Mecklenburgh, he took Francfort on the Oder by assault; secured Brandenburg by a treaty with the elector; prevailed on the elector of Saxony, who was attacked by the Imperialists, to give him the command of his troops; attacked Tilli before Leipzig, and with his Swedes gained a victory so much the more glorious, as the Saxons were routed at the first onset. Three months after this battle, Franconia, Suabia, the Upper Rhine, and even the Palatinate, were in the power of the conqueror.

The Pro-  
testants  
join him  
after a  
refusal.

The Protestants had at first refused to join him, though in a general assembly held at Leipzig they had agreed to require, with their swords in their hands, the re-establishment of the liberties of the empire, and the abolition of the edict concerning the church lands. But the success of his arms, and the emperor's affected delays, had at last determined them to adopt the measure which was most to their advantage. He even did not neglect to excite the zeal for religion, which is always of such efficacious influence.

1634.  
Second  
campaign.

This campaign paved the way for new triumphs the following year. Count Tilli had again entered Franconia; but Gustavus drove him back as far as Bavaria, and, after taking Donawert, swam his army over the Lech, in his presence. In the defence of the passage fell Tilli, an illustrious man, but who had a short time before tarnished his glory, by delivering up Magdeburgh to all the barbarities which an unbridled soldiery, destitute of honour, is capable of committing. Thirty thousand inhabitants lost their lives on that occasion, and the flames devoured what the sword could not destroy.

Tilli slain.  
He had  
tarnished  
his glory  
at Magde-  
burgh.

Wallstein  
repulses  
the Swedes

Wallstein still remained to the emperor. Being restored to the command with unlimited power (for he insisted

insisted upon that condition) he joined the army in Bavaria; repulsed Gustavus, who attacked him in his intrenchments near Nuremberg; recovered Bohemia, which had been conquered by the Saxons; and invaded Saxony, where he took Leipzig. The king of Sweden flew to the assistance of the elector; but the battle of Lutzen, near Leipzig, put an end to the career of the great Gustavus. He was slain in the battle, either by treachery, as was rumoured, or by the enemy; but duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, his lieutenant general, gained a complete victory.

Battle of  
Lutzen,  
where  
Gustavus  
was slain.

Thus died a virtuous hero, who ought not to be confounded with the destroyers of mankind. The book written by Grotius, on the *Right of War and Peace*, was found in his tent, and he had made it his ordinary study. Another conqueror would have detested this work, which defends the rights of nature against the injustice and cruelty of its oppressors. The blood spilt by Gustavus Adolphus is to be imputed to Ferdinand. He was succeeded by his daughter Christina, then only six years of age; and the government was managed by the chancellor Oxenstiern.

He relished  
the  
doctrine of  
Grotius.

At Vienna and Madrid, public rejoicings were made for an event, doubtless fortunate to the house of Austria, but which these very rejoicings turned to its shame. Philip IV. did not blush to be present at a burlesque piece, called—*The Death of the King of Sweden*. It is true, that in all ages and nations, the populace have been guilty of similar excesses; but they are not, on that account, less unbecoming in the better sort; and can they be excused in a prince? What idea of decency could men entertain at that time?

Shameful  
rejoicings  
for the  
death of  
that  
prince.

The death of the king of Sweden, by introducing divisions, well nigh ruined the affairs of the Protestants, notwithstanding their victory; the elector of Saxony and the chancellor of Oxenstiern each claiming the superiority; but at last it was determined, that the war should be continued till the perpetual establishment of the

1633.  
Rivalship  
between  
the elector  
of Saxony  
and Oxen-  
stiern.



the Germanic freedom and liberty of conscience ; that affairs should be under the direction of the chancellor ; and that none of the parties should enter into any treaty of accommodation, without the unanimous consent of the confederates. The elector of Saxony singly protested against a decision favourable to the Swedes ; and Oxenstiern shewed himself worthy of the general confidence, by restoring the conquests made by Gustavus in the Palatinate to the children of the unfortunate Frederic V. who was lately dead. He renewed the alliance with France, which was then disturbed by the civil wars between the king and his brother ; but Germany, much more unhappy, was a vast theatre of carnage.

1534.  
Conspiracy  
and  
death of  
Walsstein.

The emperor irrecoverably lost his only remaining great general. Displeased with the imperious temper of Walsstein, he again deprived him of the command ; upon which, that general entered into a conspiracy ; when the emperor caused him to be assassinated by two colonels at Egra, and gave the command to the archduke Ferdinand, king elect of Bohemia and Hungary. This revenge, whether the circumstances rendered it necessary or not, proves the weakness to which he found himself reduced. We imagine that we see Henry III. assassinating the duke of Guise, because he could not check his ambition.

The  
Swedes  
defeated  
at Nord-  
linguen.

Meantime the Swedes felt the vicissitudes of war. The archduke having besieged Nordlinguen in Suabia, Weimar came to the assistance of the place, and attacking the Imperialists, who were greatly superiour in number, lost the battle, with about sixteen thousand men. Fortune then changed sides ; Richelieu, who never lost sight of the affairs of Germany, and had even instigated Welsheim to rebel, perceived the necessity of succouring the Swedes, and engaged not only to continue the subsidies, but to send a body of troops ; in consequence of which, the allies received a French garrison into Alsace ; Philipsburgh was ceded to France by Sweden ; and the cardinal de la Valette, son of the duke d'Epemon, arrived

Richelieu  
sends  
them  
troops.

rived at the head of an army to join the duke of Weimar, commander in chief of the Protestants.

We may easily imagine the reproaches vented against Richelieu, on account of this war, by the herd of Catholics. He had taken great care, from the first, to stipulate with Gustavus, that the Catholic religion should receive no damage; but few persons were capable of hearing reason in favour of such a piece of policy, while they saw things only in that light which alarmed their zeal. A Spanish cardinal, in full consistory, had accused Urban VIII. of betraying the cause of religion, because he did not publish a crusade in favour of Ferdinand.

The zealous Catholics looked upon this war as a crime.

In these conjunctures, the elector of Saxony, either from discontent or fear, concluded the treaty of Prague with the emperor. They settled between them the affair of the benefices, and determined the fate of the princes and states of Germany; excluded the children of the elector Palatine forever from the amnesty, as well as all those who had any share in the former troubles of Bohemia; and agreed that the empire should raise an army to drive out the Swedes and French. One of the articles bore, that the Protestants should continue forty years longer in possession of the benefices which they had enjoyed since 1552. This was at least, in some measure, cancelling the edict of restitution; but Ferdinand's despotism still shewed itself without disguise.

1635.  
Treaty of Prague, between the elector of Saxony and the emperor.

Germany was at first filled with clamours. Universal indignation was kindled, that two princes should arrogate to themselves so great authority over the whole Germanic body. But men's minds were calmed by degrees. The Protestants, except the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, acceded to the treaty of Prague; and thus France and Sweden were reduced almost to their own forces. Richelieu, in order to attach the duke of Weimar to the league, not only furnished him with troops and money, but made him a present of Alsace, which was to descend to the heirs of his body as a principality of the empire.

The Protestants accede to it, after great complaints.

France gives up Alsace to Weimar.

The duke  
of Orleans  
leagued  
with the  
duke of  
Lorraine.

It was about the time when the Swedes made their first campaigns against Ferdinand, that the duke of Orleans had raised the standard of rebellion. This volatile, weak and restless prince, always guided by worthless favourites, but whom he constantly sacrificed when it suited his own convenience, was supported by Charles duke of Lorraine, whose sister he had privately married. We have seen the mareschal de Montmorenci fall a victim to the rebellion into which he had been drawn by Gaston; nor had the duke of Lorraine reason to applaud himself for the steps which he had taken. Having twice promised to abandon the rebellious prince, and twice broken his word, he lost the duchy of Bar, and even Nanci, in 1633.

The latter  
chastised.

Marriage  
of Gaston  
annulled.

The marriage of the duke of Orleans, which the university of Louvain maintained to be indissoluble, was declared null by that of Paris; and it was cancelled by the parliament, as contrary to the laws of the kingdom. In fact, the king's consent, which is necessary in such cases, appeared the more indispensable, as Gaston was presumptive heir of the crown. The quarrel between the two brothers still subsisted, under some appearances of accommodation.

### C H A P. III.

*France at War with the whole House of Austria.—Revolutions in Catalonia and Portugal.*

Design of  
attacking  
the house  
of Austria.

CARDINAL Richelieu, though involved in troubles, and surrounded by conspiracies, resolved upon an open war against the whole house of Austria; a hazardous undertaking, but well calculated for securing him in his high station. He made himself necessary, by multiplying the difficulties of government. Besides, the glory of the state was connected with the interest of the minister,



minister, provided resources could be found equal to the greatness of the design.

Never were circumstances more favourable for an attack upon Spain. The war with Holland still continued; and the Spaniards sunk under the efforts of that small republic, whose naval forces had deprived them of Brasil, and the best acquisitions of the Portuguese in the East Indies; nor was the prince of Orange, Frederic Henry, who succeeded his brother Maurice in 1625, less successful by land. In 1632 the Flemish lords having entered into a conspiracy to erect their country into a republic, he took advantage of these troubles; made himself master of several places, particularly Maestricht, and defeated Pappenheim, a celebrated general in the Imperial service, who was afterwards slain at the battle of Lutzen. So greatly was the court of Spain humbled, that though peace was offered to the Dutch on very honourable terms, the republic refused to treat.

Richelieu made a treaty with Holland, by which the partition of the Low Countries was settled beforehand, as if the conquest had been certain; after which he sent a herald to declare war against the Cardinal Infant, the new governor of those provinces, on pretence of an attempt made by the Spaniards against the elector of Treves, who was an ally of France. But the finances were exhausted; the cardinal's household, which was more splendid than the king's, alone swallowed up four millions a year. There was no resource but in the woful expedient of money edicts, contrary to the good of the state, and equally ruinous to the prince and people. A bed of justice was soon held, in which the parliament was obliged to register forty two of them at once, without examination or even reading. Henry IV. and Sully pursued very different measures.

Accordingly the armies in Flanders and Germany shouldered away for want of provisions. The first campaign was every where unsuccessful, except in the Valteline, where the duke of Rohan maintained himself

Spain  
humbled  
by Hol-  
land.

Frederic  
Henry  
Stadthol-  
der.

1633.  
League  
with the  
Dutch.  
War de-  
clared  
against  
Spain.

Money  
edicts not  
so advan-  
tageous as  
economy.

First cam-  
paign in  
Flanders  
unsuccess-  
ful.

with a few troops against the Germans and Spaniards, while the marshal Crequi, with the dukes of Savoy and Parma, allies of the king, could make no progress in Italy. This ill success was in some measure owing to their misunderstanding. On the other side, Holland acted but faintly, from an apprehension of having France for its neighbour; and the Flemings continued faithful to Spain, because their privileges were then respected, as they ought to have been before the troubles.

1636.  
The Spaniards in the kingdom.

Sieges of Dole and St. Jean de Lône.

Cabals against Richelieu.

This campaign was followed by another more unfortunate to the French nation. The Cardinal Infant, accompanied by the duke of Lorraine and the celebrated John de Werth, penetrated into Picardy, passed the Somme, made himself master of Corbie, and spread terror in the capital. The Spaniards ravaged Burgundy, and invaded Guienne, but reaped no advantage from these successes. The little town of St. Jean de Lône, in Burgundy, held out with so great bravery, that they raised the siege. The prince of Condé had raised that of Dole, in order to oppose the enemy. That town, which afterwards submitted to Louis XIV. almost the moment he appeared before its gates, held out against Condé three months. To conclude, the invasion of the Spaniards was rendered fruitless, both by their bad conduct, and the advantage which the French have in a defensive war, where the zeal and courage of the nation make amends for every other want.

The more misfortunes that beset the state, the more violent were the clamours against the minister, who was detested by the people on account of the taxes with which they were loaded, and exposed to a thousand dangers from the hatred of the great men, and the intrigues of the court. The duke of Orleans and the count de Soissons, whom he had made general of the army in Picardy, formed a plot to cause him to be assassinated in the king's apartment; and the blow would infallibly have been struck, had the duke given the signal

nal to the murderers ; but he was withheld by remorse or fear, and these two princes privately withdrew soon after.

Father Caussin, a Jesuit, who, though possessed neither of genius nor prudence, yet by his office of confessor had a powerful influence over Louis XIII. was very near effecting what had been fruitlessly attempted by the ablest heads in the nation. By exasperating the mind of his superstitious penitent, representing the cardinal as the oppressor of the queen mother, the tyrant of the kingdom, and, above all, the support of heretics, he encouraged him to get rid of that minister. But this awkwardly contrived scheme was soon discovered, and ended in the banishment of Caussin. Richelieu, not without good reason, distrusted the Jesuits, to whom he ascribed some of the libels published against his person and ministry. He had been on the point of banishing them, upon account of a seditious book published by Santarelli, one of their fraternity ; but they dissipated those storms by their address and credit.

Intrigues  
of Father  
Caussin.

The Jesu-  
its sus-  
pected by  
the Car-  
dinal.

Meantime the war continued, notwithstanding the efforts of Urban VIII. to reconcile the powers, and some insincere negotiations, carried on with more artifice than desire of peace. We shall take a short view of the principal events. The duke of Rohan lost the Valteline for want of supplies. But the count d'Harcourt recovered the isles of St. Margaret and St. Honorat on the coast of Provence, which had been taken by the Spaniards in 1635. The prince of Condé miscarried at the siege of Fontarabia, as he had done before Dole ; and Richelieu revenged himself for that misfortune on the duke de la Valette, whom he hated. He was accused of not having succoured the prince ; commissioners were appointed for his trial, at which the king presided in person when sentence was given ; and the duke was condemned to be executed in effigy. Under a rod of iron, justice must infallibly lose her power.

1637, 1638  
1639.  
Sequel of  
the war.

Trial of  
the duke  
de la Va-  
lette.

Ferdinand



Death of  
Ferdinand II.

Ferdinand II. died in 1637, after a reign of seventeen years. This emperor had created twenty two princes, sixty counts, and one hundred and twenty barons of the empire, probably with a view to raise money by the sale of titles, or to purchase creatures. He was succeeded by his son Ferdinand III. who had been already elected king of the Romans; an election against which a protest had been entered by the count-Palatine, and the archbishop of Treves, because they had not been summoned to the diet. France and Sweden refused to acknowledge this emperor; and the ravages of war, though still so fatal to both parties, were continued without intermission.

Election  
of Ferdinand III.

Events of  
the war  
in Germany.

Though the Swedish army under the command of Bannier had gained a glorious victory at Wistoc in Upper Saxony, they found themselves closely pressed by General Gallas. Weimar lost a battle, in which the duke of Rohan was killed by his side; but he afterwards gained eight successive victories in 1638. The decisive battle of Rheinfeld put into his hands four generals; and one of them, John de Werth, was conducted in triumph to Paris. Weimar died next year, while his whole thoughts were taken up with his vast designs. The Swedes retook Pomerania, which they had lost, advanced as far as Prague, and fell upon Silesia. Germany was deluged with blood, and overspread with hideous ruin: every day its wounds bled afresh. Had Ferdinand foreseen the effects of his ambitious violence, would he ever have kindled this flame? And to warn him of the consequences, was not the example of Charles V. sufficient, not to mention a multitude of others?

Battle of  
Rheinfeld.

The  
Dutch  
fleets beat  
the Spanish.

Whatever successes Spain met with in this war, which was continued against her twenty five years, no power lost more before its conclusion. A grand fleet, which Olivarez had equipped against Sweden, was destroyed on the coast of England by the Dutch admiral Van Tromp, who has rendered his name immortal. Soon after,

after, the republic made the important conquest of Molacca in the East Indies, which it has kept ever since. Holland raised herself on the ruins of that vast monarchy, turning the faults of its government to her own advantage; and that government continued to provoke the subjects to rebellion.

As the weight of the public burdens fell almost solely on the Castilians, the other provinces pleading their privileges, and refusing to contribute to the multiplied exigencies of the state, the count duke d'Olivarez, who was equally fond of despotism with Richelieu, resolved to extort by force what it was necessary to have obtained by prudence; and sent positive orders into Catalonia for levying troops and raising money. The Catalans sent deputies to the court, who spoke too boldly, and were imprisoned. Other violences committed in the province irritated that naturally untractable people, and even the sacred things were profaned and carried away. The bishop of Girona fulminated an excommunication against those who had been guilty of the profanation; and this was, as it were, a signal of sedition. The city of Barcelona flew to arms, and the rebellion became general. The Catalans wanted to form a republic; but, being too weak to resist the forces of Philip IV. gave themselves to France in 1641.

1640.  
Catalonia, oppressed, shakes off the Spanish yoke.

The revolution in Portugal is still more extraordinary. The Portuguese, chagrined by their losses, humbled to the lowest degree of weakness, crushed under the Spanish yoke, and transported with national hatred, had long been eager to break their fetters; when their discontent was carried to the highest pitch, by an order obliging all the nobility, under pain of confiscation of their fiefs, to take arms for the reduction of Catalonia. A conspiracy had been carried on with impenetrable secrecy, for three years, in favour of the duke of Braganza, whose family had been unjustly deprived of the succession to the crown by Philip II. and the conspirators executed their design in a moment, when they sacrificed

Philip IV loses Portugal.

The duke of Braganza king, without effusion of blood.

crificed only two victims, Vasconcellos the minister, who oppressed his country, and his secretary. The timid Braganza, roused by the courage of his wife, who was a native of Spain, at last suffered himself to be crowned by the name of John IV. Lisbon, settled in tranquillity, gave itself up to rejoicing, and almost no resistance was made in the rest of the kingdom; the Spaniards disappeared, and Portugal only changed its master. This revolution is singular in its kind.

Manner  
in which  
Philip  
was in-  
formed  
of this  
news.

Philip, sunk in a disgraceful lethargy, was entirely ignorant of this strange piece of news, while it echoed through every corner of Europe; but at last there was a necessity to acquaint him with the truth.—*Sire*, said Olivarez, *the duke of Braganza has been unwise enough to cause himself to be elected king of Portugal; you will gain by it a confiscation of twelve millions: to which the king replied—Let order be taken for it; and continued his amusements.* Naples, emboldened by these examples, likewise thought of shaking off the yoke; and a conspiracy was formed to deliver up that kingdom to France; but the plot was countermined, and did not take place.

Conspira-  
cy at Na-  
ples.

Turin  
taken by  
the count  
d'Harcourt.

Before Philip lost Catalonia and Portugal, the honour of the French arms had been restored by two glorious expeditions. The count d'Harcourt, after defeating the marquis de Leganez near Casal, hastened to the siege of Turin, where prince Thomas of Savoy, already master of the town, was attacking the citadel. But Harcourt was himself besieged in his camp by Leganez; and, though obliged to struggle with a famine for two and twenty days, carried his point, notwithstanding so many obstacles. When John de Werth heard of this extraordinary exploit, he exclaimed, in admiration—*I had rather be general Harcourt than emperor.* On the other side, three marshals of France took Arras, which, according to an old proverb, was said to be impregnable; and the conquest was made more illustrious by four battles which the cardinal infant fought for its relief.

Arras  
taken.

The



The emperor was likewise very near losing his capital; to besiege which the French and Swedish army, reinforced in Germany by the troops of Hesse, Brunswick, and Lunenburgh, was on its march; and Vienna must necessarily have fallen, had not the enterprize been rendered abortive, by the skilful operations of Piccolomini.

Vienna  
saved by  
Piccolomi-  
ni.

It would be equally superfluous and tiresome to enter into the particulars of a war so complicated, and carried on with such obstinacy; in which the strength of all the powers was exhausted, even by their victories as well as their defeats. Peace, which is always desirable, became absolutely necessary, and still it was impossible to bring it to a conclusion. Each of the belligerent powers aimed at its particular advantage, which was incompatible with that of its allies. None of them was reduced so far as to accept shameful conditions. The negotiations were embroiled, and broken off by a thousand artifices. Cardinal Richelieu, especially, being desirous of prolonging the war, artfully eluded the proposals, though he affected a love of peace. He dreaded that Sweden would desert the alliance, and treat separately, because she might turn it to her advantage. But a disagreeable event dispelled his fears, and served his political purposes.

Negotia-  
tions car-  
ried on  
with in-  
sincerity,  
fruitless.

Bannier died after an unsuccessful attempt against Ratisbon, where a diet was held which favoured the interests of the emperor; and his death weakening the Swedes, they renewed the alliance till the general peace should be concluded, the preliminaries of which were signed at Hamburgh. It was determined that the treaty should be carried on at Munster for France, and at Osnaburg for Sweden; so that the articles agreed upon in one of these cities, should be thought equally consented to in the other. Such were the preparatory steps for the peace of Westphalia, which was yet to be purchased by several years of carnage.

1647.  
The al-  
liance re-  
newed  
between  
France &  
Sweden.

Prelimi-  
naries of  
the peace  
of West-  
phalia.

Torstenſon,

Torsten-  
son, a  
Swedish  
general.

Torstenfon, the worthy successor of Bannier, met with the greatest success from the time that he was put at the head of the army (1642.) He took Leipzig, after cutting in pieces the Imperial and Saxon troops; and this good fortune inspired Sweden with new ardour for the war.

## CH A P. IV.

### *Death of Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIII.*

**W**E are now drawing near to the end of the reign of Louis XIII. or rather of his minister, which I shall make the subject of this chapter, referring other matters to a more convenient place.

Cardinal  
Richelieu  
detested.

Richelieu's authority met with universal submission; but he was accused, by the whole nation, of injustice and tyranny. He crushed the small as well as the great, and took the most odious and pernicious methods for raising money; of which we may judge, by his establishing four hundred offices of attorneys, which necessarily increased the ruinous abuses of chicanery. He, in a manner, stifled the voice of the parliament, whose remonstrances might be of great utility, provided they did not pass the proper bounds. By a declaration published in a bed of justice, that court was ordered to register all edicts concerning the affairs of government without deliberation; and as to those concerning the revenue, they were to be registered on the order of the king, after hearing their representations. That minister disposed of every thing according to his own pleasure. He struck off the heads of the first men in the state, by arbitrary sentences; while he heightened the lustre of the crown in the eyes of foreign nations, and made it too formidable at home; he despised the complaints of the people, whom he ren-  
dered

dered every day more unhappy. Under such a government, the factious incessantly breathed the spirit of rebellion.

The count de Soissons had made his escape from the court in 1636, and taken refuge in Sedan; where, uniting with the dukes of Bouillon and Guise, and concluding a treaty with Spain, he raised an army and began a civil war, and, at the battle of Marfée, defeated the mareschal de Chatillon, who had acquired so great glory by the taking of Arras. Had not the young prince been slain in the engagement, his victory might have been followed by important consequences. The duke de Bouillon, sovereign of Sedan, speedily entered into a negotiation, but preserved the views and desires of a rebel.

Rebellion  
of the  
count de  
Soissons,  
&c.

Scarce was the storm dispelled, when another arose. The king could not live without a favourite. His gloomy temper found relief in those particular intimacies, where a weak mind takes a timid revenge for the constraint which it labours under elsewhere. The minister, who was perpetually in danger, had succeeded in turning the king's favour upon young Cinqmars, son of the mareschal d'Effiat; hoping from him a return of gratitude, and, above all, flattering himself with the hopes of governing him. But he judged improperly of a courtier.

1642.  
He gives  
the king  
Cinqmars  
for a fa-  
vourite.

Cinqmars, who was promoted to the post of master of the horse, disgusted with the king, and more jealous of the minister's authority, resolved upon the ruin of Richelieu; and, in order to effect it, shewed the utmost complaisance for the inclinations and humours of Louis, with whom he was not before afraid to enter into frequent quarrels. It was no difficult matter for him to gain over the dukes of Orleans and Bouillon to his seditious projects. A treaty was concluded with Spain in the name of the former, for introducing the Spaniards into the kingdom, in order to change the face of the government.

Cinqmars  
conspires  
the minis-  
ter's de-  
struction.

The



No doubt  
was entertained  
of his  
success,  
when every  
thing changed  
according  
to the  
wishes of  
Richelieu.

The greatest stress of the war had been turned upon Roussillon; the reunion of which province to the crown was an enterprise highly worthy of the ministry. Louis commanded in person, and was more than ever captivated with his favourite. Richelieu's fall was determined, and in all appearance so certain, that it was publicly spoken of as not far distant. Sick, and a prey to disquiet, he languished at Tarascona in expectation of his utter ruin; when, by a singular piece of good fortune, discovering the treaty with Spain, he gave information of it to the king. That prince hesitated, and was at a loss what to believe, but at last opened his eyes. Cinqmars was arrested, as was likewise Bouillon, who had imprudently been entrusted with an army at Casal, where he commanded. Their confidant de Thou, son of the celebrated historian, could not escape vengeance. Richelieu triumphed over his enemies, and caused their trial to be hurried on.

Trial of  
Cinqmars  
and de  
Thou.

The master of the horse and de Thou were tried at Lyons, under the eye, and agreeably to the wishes, of the cardinal. Though their crimes were far from being equal, both were condemned to the same punishment, and lost their heads. The second was only guilty of concealing the plot, which he disapproved.—*I should have passed for a calumniator, said he, had I accused the king's brother, and persons of the first quality, without proofs sufficient for their conviction.* But a law of Louis XI. was quoted against him, which, from its excessive severity, had fallen into so total oblivion, that even the magistrates were unacquainted with it, and it was the minister who pointed it out to the chancellor. The duke of Bouillon purchased his pardon by giving up the principality of Sedan, and afterwards obtained lands to a considerable amount in exchange. As to the weak Gaston, duke of Orleans, who led his friends to the scaffold, he had furnished proofs to convict the others of their guilt, and submitted to live in a private station.

Gaston  
and the  
duke de  
Bouillon  
punished.

It is related, that Louis XIII. after his return to Paris, looking at his watch on the day when his old favourite was to suffer, said—*Within an hour, the great man will pass his time disagreeably.* The cardinal at least veiled his passions with an air of grandeur. After the execution, he wrote a letter to the king, in the following words: *Sire, your enemies are dead, and your arms are in Perpignan.* That important town had been taken from the Spaniards.

Expressions of the king and the minister.

Richelieu drew near the grave; but his pride and ambition were proof against decay. Though worn out with disease, he came to court, carried part of the way on the shoulders of his guards, in a machine covered with damask. He imagined that he should survive the monarch, and was taking measures for securing the regency. Vain ideas! Death surprised him at the age of fifty seven. It was impossible for any man to believe his protestation on his death bed, that, during his whole ministry, he had nothing in view but the good of religion and the state. Louis XIII. expired the year following. Mary Medici, his mother, had died a little before at Cologne, in exile and misery.

Death of Richelieu.

1643.  
Death of Louis XIII.

“Cardinal Richelieu (says Mr. Voltaire) was perhaps the most unhappy of the three, because he was most hated; and, though labouring under a bad state of health, was obliged to support an immense load with hands bathed in blood.” If he did support it under so many vexations, alarms, and dangers, the reason is, that the passion for dominion is equally bold and insatiable; that, to the ambitious man, the greatest misfortune is the loss of favour; that, accustomed to confusion and bustle, he considers tranquillity of mind as a kind of death. When once engaged in that career, the sweets of private life are looked upon as insipid and tiresome. To how many passions is the human heart a slave! Richelieu, with so great a portion of genius and courage, would have deserved the highest encomiums, had he made the happiness of the monarchy the sole end of his government.

Misfortunes attendant on ambition.

I reserve, to another chapter, some particular observations on government, literature, and religion. But we must first turn our attention upon England, where the unfortunate reign of Charles I. though unconnected with the general system, from its little influence on the affairs of Europe, yet is no less worthy of our particular study.

## CHAP. V.

### *Reign of Charles I. in England, till the War with the Parliament.*

General  
idea of  
this reign.

WE now come to a remarkable epocha in the English history, when liberty struck deep roots; when not only the usurpations, but the just prerogatives, of the crown were disputed and wrested from it. Horrid scenes of violence served as a prelude to the harmony of a legal constitution; the whole government seemed not only thrown into confusion, but annihilated; yet order sprung from this chaos. In a word, frenzy and fanaticism led, through paths flowing with blood, to a revolution, which the English celebrate as the source of their happiness. When we reflect upon the causes, we shall be less surpris'd at the effects.

The seeds  
of the  
troubles  
had been  
sown by  
James I.

When James I. imprudently advanced the maxims of absolute authority, without having the strength necessary to support it, he only irritated the people, excited men of warm tempers to fatal disputes, and exposed the crown to the attacks of the parliament. Men's minds were set to work; they acquired new lights, and knowledge sufficient to discern that the royal prerogative had its limits; but they were too much heated not to overleap those of the national liberty. From the shock of those different interests, from those  
overstrained



overstrained opinions, necessarily issued devouring flames.

On one side, the king was powerful in himself; but, on the other, the nation furnished the subsidies, without which the government could not act.

Charles I. though endowed with all the qualities of an amiable and virtuous prince, yet, from his desire to put in practice the principles of his father, which were not contested under the Tudors, plunged from one abyss to another. So early as the second year of his reign, (1626) the commons ventured to impeach Buckingham, the favourite minister, who, though too worthless, enjoyed the confidence of the son as well as of the father, and had never been attacked while the kings continued absolute. Charles forbid the impeachment; and demanded a speedy subsidy; giving them to understand, that, in case of a refusal, he could very easily abolish parliaments, as had been done by so many other monarchs.

Charles I.  
quarrels  
with the  
parlia-  
ment.

This indiscreet threat was suddenly followed by a stroke of arbitrary power. Two members of parliament were put in prison, but the commons refused to deliberate till they should be enlarged. Scarce was that done, when the disputes against the rights of the crown were renewed. The parliament was dissolved, and taxes were levied by force: the murmurs increased, and the royal authority was more weakened: the necessary consequence of a false system, which makes men advance with obstinacy, and recede with timidity.

Violent  
measures  
weakly  
support-  
ed.

The war undertaken against France, in favour of the inhabitants of Rochelle, made it necessary to convoke the parliament, (1628) where the same causes produced the same effects. The spirit of liberty even shewed itself more boldly. The following expression was used by a member of the house of commons:—*The man who suffers himself to be robbed of his property, against his consent, his liberties, and the laws of the kingdom, does not shew himself a good subject, but a slave.* The famous petition

Second  
parlia-  
ment,  
where the  
commons  
shew more  
boldness.

Petition  
of right,  
fatal to  
the pre-  
rogative.

*petition of right* was drawn up by the lower house, requiring that no person may be forced to any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or other burden of the like nature, without the consent of parliament; that no man may be sued, imprisoned, or molested, in case of refusal; in a word, that no denizen may be arrested or detained by order of the king. In vain did the peers endeavour to make some modifications in this bill. The commons were untractable, and the king gave way in order to obtain supplies.

Prohibi-  
tion to  
pay an es-  
tablished  
tax.

Buckingham's murder did not put an end to the fermentation; it was even more heated by the taking of Rochelle. The parliament again met in 1629, after its prorogation, and prohibited paying to the crown the duty of *tonnage and poundage*, on the import and export of merchandise; a duty, which, from the time of Henry the IV. about the middle of the fifteenth century, had uniformly been levied at the beginning of every reign, before the parliament had granted it to the new king. Charles now dissolved this turbulent assembly, and made peace with France and Spain, that he might not any longer have occasion for money. At the same time he chose an excellent minister in Wentworth, earl of Strafford, formerly a zealous defender of liberty in the house of commons.

The king  
dissolves  
the par-  
liament,  
and en-  
deavours  
to govern  
without  
it.

Ship  
money.

All the king's economy could not supply the want of subsidies. It was necessary to have recourse to the old expedients. To the duty of tonnage and poundage, and the ordinary methods of prerogative, was added, a tax for the shipping, which amounted to no more than two hundred thousand pounds sterling, and was employed for a purpose evidently useful; yet Hampden, a spirited patriot, refused to pay it; upon which he was sued, and the cause was pleaded twelve days. His counsel insisted that the tax of *ship money* was an infringement on the rights of the nation; and though he was cast, a trial of this kind taught the people but too well to struggle against the crown. Some new acts of

Suit a-  
gainst  
Hampden  
on this  
account.

despotism,

despotism, or which were looked upon as such, the more exasperated men's minds, as the court shewed a resolution to call no more parliaments.

Notwithstanding these seeds of discord, Charles might have kept his subjects in dependence, had he not provoked the rage of fanaticism. The sect of the Puritans in England, like that of the Presbyterians in Scotland, under pretext of following the pure gospel, was capable of every extravagance, of every excess, to which the enthusiasm of imaginary perfection, or the delirium of unreal virtues, can hurry men of a gloomy and violent temper. The slightest idea of a hierarchy, a shadow of Popery, an indifferent ceremony of the Romish worship, were the abomination, the work of Satan, the reign of Antichrist; and, in their frantic extacies, they made it a duty to sacrifice every thing to the cause of God, that is, to their own madness.

Fanaticism of the Puritans.

On the other side, the king was a theologian, as well as his father, and too much wedded to his own systems not to startle the sectaries. He wanted to clothe the external worship with ceremonies, its too great simplicity being as capable of producing inconveniences as superstition itself; for in every thing extremes approach each other. He supported the authority of Episcopacy; which he thought, upon good grounds, very friendly to the crown, either because the bishops depend upon the king, or their principles inculcate obedience. Besides, he gave himself up to the counsels of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury; a prelate of pure and rigid morals, but a violent zealot, enterprising, audacious, and obstinate, and consequently proper to kindle a flame in critical conjunctures, when a single spark was sufficient to throw the whole kingdom into combustion.

Charles, a bigoted theologian, favourable to episcopacy, and governed by Laud of Canterbury.

Laud had already established in England a number of ceremonies borrowed from the Romish church, and exercised his despotic power as primate with very little prudence; while the king, with still less, made an attempt to subject Scotland to the discipline and liturgy

Ceremonies of Laud, which the king is desirous to establish in Scotland.



of the church of England; and for that purpose sent down the new statutes, with an order to put them in execution. But the dean of Edinburgh beginning the service in a surplice, according to the prescribed form, the people immediately cried out, *a pope! an antichrist! stone him!* A bench was thrown at the bishop, who endeavoured to appease the tumult; and the flame overspread the whole kingdom of Scotland.

1638. The councils of the nation assembled in the capital, took an oath to support their faith against popery, and to stand by one another for the maintenance of religion and the royal authority. Fanaticism always puts on the mask of fidelity to the sovereign. This league, which was called the *covenant*, exceeded all others of the kind in the violence by which it was characterized. The king offered to suspend the use of the liturgy, provided the Scots would retract their covenant; but they replied, that they would sooner renounce their baptism; they abolished the liturgy and episcopacy in a general assembly, made preparations for a civil war, and fortified Leith; while their courage was animated by a prophets, and the women of quality devoutly worked on the fortifications with the labourers.

Charles makes war against them.

Charles was now reduced to the hard necessity of fighting against his subjects. By his economy he was master of a considerable sum, and the queen prevailed upon the Catholics to raise a contribution. He therefore marched against the rebels, but was disarmed by an appearance of submission. His weakness dictated a treaty, the only fruit of which was increasing the influence of his enemies. Scarcely had they ceased to dread him, when they renewed their attempts, and the civil war again became unavoidable.

He calls a parliament, and dissolves it.

It being impossible to raise any more money, Charles at last assembled a parliament, after an interval of nine years. But he found it insensible to his wants, violent against his prerogative, deaf to the most equitable requisitions, and dissolved it according to custom. With

the

The generous assistance of Laud, Strafford, and other noblemen, he raised an army, but could not hinder the Scots from penetrating into England, and taking Newcastle.

As the parliamentary system, far from losing ground, was every day acquiring new strength, the most prudent method would have been to come to an accommodation with Scotland, to call no more parliaments, to conciliate men's minds, and to take such measures, whether moderate or vigorous, as would give a rational prospect of success: but unhappily the king was incapable of keeping a medium in a career beset with precipices. His first steps were violent and inconsiderate, and his after conduct equally languid and spiritless: first irritating, and immediately yielding, by his concessions he made his authority contemptible, as by his provocations he rendered it odious. The dissolution of four parliaments was an unlucky prognostic; and he summoned a fifth, without foreseeing that he was to fall its victim:

1648.  
Mistaken  
conduct  
of that  
prince.

Fifth para-  
liament.

This dreadful assembly, where the republican spirit was invigorated by the fanaticism of the Puritans, began with a bold and decisive stroke. The commons impeached Laud and Strafford of high treason; and the peers, whose zeal for the crown was already cooled, caused them to be arrested. Ship money was abolished; the acts of the government were censured, and the Catholics treated with the greatest severity. The indiscreet zeal of the queen, the priests, the Jesuits, and a nuncio from the pope, whom she kept at the court, furnished matter for complaints and persecution. Charles softened; and so great advantage was taken of his weakness, that he was forced to consent that the parliament should be called every three years, and that, when once assembled, it should neither be dissolved nor prorogued, for the space of fifteen days, without the consent of the two houses.

The com-  
mons give  
law.

The greatest fault committed by the king, was the sacrificing his minister. Strafford, after a long trial,

Trial of  
earl Strafford.

Charles  
abandons  
him to  
the fac-  
tion.

Fate of  
Laud.

was condemned, under pretext of some arbitrary acts, which were sufficiently justified by ancient custom, and the necessity of the conjunctures. The palace was beset by rioters, to force the king to sign the warrant : the virtuous Strafford exhorted him, by letter, to make that sacrifice ; and Charles permitted the execution of the sentence, by which he exposed his own head. Laud was not executed till three years after. His only crimes were an attachment to the prejudices of his profession, and following them with a blind and violent zeal, but far inferior to that of the Puritans.

The par-  
liament  
carries  
every  
thing be-  
fore it.

So signal a victory over the royal authority rapidly brought on other enterprises ; to secure the success of which, a bill was passed, declaring that the parliament could not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, but by the consent of the two houses ; and thus it became master of the king. The high commission and star chamber were abolished ; two courts contrary to liberty, but useful to the crown.

It dismiss-  
es and  
rewards  
the Scotch  
army.

The Scotch army, which was still on foot, made the factious party much more formidable, and was therefore maintained at the expense of England ; but at last it was dismissed, with a present of three hundred thousand pounds, granted by the parliament. The behaviour of the Scots is even commended in the act of pacification, as *tending to the honour and advantage of his Majesty*. What an insult on the king ! and yet these were only the first essays of the parliament's audacity.

The Irish,  
fanatical  
and sedi-  
tious.

By a deplorable fatality the flame caught Ireland in its turn, where the civil wars were rekindled. James I. had introduced into it the police and laws of England ; and the earl of Strafford had governed with such prudence, that, immediately after emerging from barbarity, agriculture, industry and navigation grew to a flourishing state. But the reformation of prejudices and manners advanced much more slowly. The Irish, being ignorant, superstitious and enthusiastic Papists, submitted with reluctance to the English, whose religion they



they detested. To shake off the yoke of heretics was the object of their wishes; and some bold chiefs, taking advantage of the troubles of the monarchy, formed a plot similar to that of St. Bartholomew in France. Forty thousand Protestants were massacred; even the women and children disputing with the men the inhuman pleasure, or, as they imagined it, the merit, of shedding the blood of the victims. Dublin was upon the point of falling into the hands of those rebels, who, to varnish their crime, declared that they were authorized by the king and queen to take up arms; and produced a forged commission with the great seal affixed, which they took from a patent, not blushing to unite the blackest imposture with this boasted zeal for the Catholic religion.

They  
massacre  
the Pro-  
testants.

Charles was in Scotland, endeavouring to appease the troubles, when he received the news of the massacre, and immediately demanded assistance against the Irish rebels; but the Scotch parliament, notwithstanding the national hatred against the Catholics, granted but a very small matter; and that of England, catching at an offer which he imprudently made them, to commit the management of that war to their prudence and care, levied money, and collected arms, under pretence of succouring him, but really with a design to turn them against him. While he was taking measures to chastise the rebels, he was publicly accused of being the author of the insurrection. The Puritans redoubled their virulent clamours. The commons published a *remonstrance on the state of the kingdom*, which is only a violent satire on the king's whole conduct. They declare the custom of pressing men for the service, an infringement on the public liberty; and accuse the bishops of high treason, because, being exposed to the insults of the populace, they had withdrawn from the house of peers, after protesting against every thing that should be done in their absence. These proceedings shewed a formed design either to overturn the throne, or reduce the regal power to a mere phantom.

The king  
demands  
assistance  
from the  
parlia-  
ment.

Seditious  
proceed-  
ings of  
the Eng-  
lish.

## C H A P. VI.

*Civil War against Charles I.—He is beheaded.*

1642.  
The king  
goes in  
person to  
impeach  
five mem-  
bers of  
parlia-  
ment.

He is in-  
sulted.

The par-  
liament  
disposes  
of the  
military  
posts.

IT would have been difficult for a strong and skilful hand to hold the helm in so severe a storm; but Charles seemed to throw himself upon the rocks. Being justly provoked at the conduct of the commons, he wanted to make an example, and could not act with the dignity of a king. He went in person to the lower house to impeach \* five members; but this extraordinary resolution had transpired, and they were withdrawn. He then went to Guildhall, without his guards, and required that they might not be screened from a prosecution purely legal: but the people were inflamed; all the streets through which he passed echoed with seditionous clamours; and the five impeached members were conducted to the house in a kind of triumph. A general insurrection was prognosticated by *petitions* addressed to the parliament, which the commons received from the porters, the women, and even the beggars. Charles quitted London, where he was no longer in safety: the queen was insulted by the fanatics; and both sides turned their thoughts on a war, which was now unavoidable.

The commons gave the signal for it, by a step which was entirely unprecedented. Being desirous of disarming the king, under pretence that plots had been formed by the Papists, they drew up a bill naming the governors and lieutenants of the fortified places, and making them responsible for their conduct to the parliament alone. A deputation was sent to the king; he was pressed, he was threatened; but nothing could make

\* The king went to seize the five members.

make him give his consent to this bill. The military commands were then settled, and the governours obliged to obey *the orders of his majesty signified by the two houses*. The king's name, as may be easily judged, was to serve merely for a cover to the orders of the lower house.

Manifestos were a prelude to the civil war; and Charles caused those of his enemies to be distributed with his own; so much did he reckon upon the evident justice of his cause. On the contrary, the parliament used its utmost endeavours to suppress those of Charles; so greatly did that body dread the strength of argument and affecting moderation used by the king. In one of the last of these papers, the English constitution is represented as a mixture of three governments; the monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical; tempered, the one by the other. This is a language which had never been held by the court, and an opinion which Charles would not have admitted at the beginning of his reign.

Manifestos before the civil war. The king's moderation.

Though hitherto inconsiderate and weak, from this time he acted with vigour and resolution. Misfortune called forth his virtues. Almost all the nobility, the principal gentlemen, the members of the church of England, and the Catholics, embraced his party. The parliamentarians had on their side most part of the great towns and the Puritans. They were masters of the sea ports, the fleet, and the revenue. Religion animated the Royalists, but acted more powerfully on the gloomy enthusiasts; who might therefore promise themselves the victory.

Strength of the parties.

However, the first hostilities turned to the advantage of the king. His nephew, prince Rupert, son of the elector Palatine, seconded him from the beginning of the war, like a brave and able general. The rebels were defeated in several engagements; Bristol was taken; siege was laid to Gloucester; and the terror spread even to London. But Gloucester held out with invincible

Events of the war.



invincible obstinacy; and the parliament, having raised fourteen thousand men, sent them to the relief of that important place, under the command of their general, the earl of Essex; when Charles, after being obliged to raise the siege, lost the battle of Newbury. In this engagement fell his minister, the viscount Falkland, at the age of thirty four; a man of superiour merit, equally respectable for his virtues, his abilities, and knowledge. He is believed to have been author of part of the king's manifestos or declarations:

The Scots  
declare  
for the  
parlia-  
ment,  
with fa-  
natical  
zeal.

To complete his misfortunes, the Scots declared against him, and formed a league with the parliament of England; by which both sides engaged to persecute, to the uttermost, popery, prelacy, and profane ceremonies, and to reform the two kingdoms according to the word of God, and on the model of the purest churches. Such was the strength of fanaticism, that pious notions always served as motives for those abominable confederacies. An army of more than twenty thousand Scots having taken the field, the king concluded a truce with Ireland, and withdrew part of his troops, which furnished new matter of accusation; his enemies reproaching him with having spared rebellious Catholics. He next summoned to Oxford those members of the parliament who were favourable to his cause, flattering himself that the new parliament would balance the authority of the old; but this assembly, which far exceeded the other in the number of peers, and fell much short of it in the house of commons, only procured him some pecuniary assistance; that of Westminster, though declared to have forfeited its legal authority, every moment increased the power by which it was rendered so formidable.

Truce  
with Ire-  
land.

1644.  
Parlia-  
ment of  
Oxford.

The inde-  
pendents.

Oliver Cromwell, a man of a most dangerous character, began to play an important part in that house. He distinguished himself in the sect of the Independents, which was confounded in the multitude of the Puritans, whom it exceeded in fanaticism and boldness, in the same manner as the Sixteen surpassed the grand league

in

in France. Pretending to inspiration, and intoxicated with the notion of a perfect equality among mankind; not content with proscribing priests, prelates, and religious ceremonies; the Independents wanted to destroy the kingly power, of which the other Puritans only desired to restrain the prerogative. Cromwell, at once a hypocrite and enthusiast, intrepid and subtle, impetuous and prudent, capable of acting the prophet, and commanding an army or ruling a state, who was the principal cause of the victory at Marstonmoor, gained over prince Rupert, soon became master of the parliament and the kingdom.

Cromwell distinguished among them.

He complained of the slow proceedings of his general, the earl of Manchester. Several preachers declaimed against the corruption of the chiefs. Cromwell and his friends insisted, in parliament, on the necessity of a reformation: and a *self denying* ordinance (that is the title given it) was enacted, by which the members of parliament, except a very small number, were excluded from all employments, civil and military; in consequence of which, Manchester, Essex, and the other noblemen, resigned their commissions. Sir Thomas Fairfax, being named general, asked leave to make use of Cromwell's assistance; who, having taken care not to apply the *self denial* to his own person, by this means got the command in the name of another; as Fairfax, who, though a man of integrity, had but a weak understanding, always suffered himself to be duped by his artifices.

The self-denying ordinance favourable to Cromwell's ambition.

From that time, the army was subjected to more rigid discipline, breathing only the fervour of Presbyterianism and the rage of battle; knowing no pleasures but prayer and military duty; and the more formidable on that account, as the Royalists, who derided their bigotry, gave themselves up to pernicious licentiousness. Prince Rupert, whose impetuous courage had already drawn him into several errors, determined the king to come to a battle, without waiting for a reinforcement, which was to join him in a short time; and the rebels gained a

1645.  
Reformation of the army.

decisive

Charles  
defeated  
at Nase-  
by,

His let-  
ters to the  
queen  
published.

He puts  
himself  
into the  
hands of  
the Scots,  
by whom  
he is sold.

1647.  
The army  
carries  
him off,  
and en-  
slaves the  
parlia-  
ment.

Cromwell  
projects  
the death  
of the  
king.

decisive victory at Naseby, near Oxford ; where the king's baggage and his coffer falling into their hands, they found copies of his letters to the queen ; and the parliament, which had been long accustomed not to blush at any thing, had the insolence to publish them. This courageous princess, worthy of being daughter to Henry IV. had retired into France, after having twice brought her husband succours from Holland, through a thousand dangers. The commons had impeached her of treason. At the sight of such monstrous excesses, we fancy ourselves in an age of barbarism : but such is the case in civil wars, especially when mixed with fanaticism.

After the battle of Naseby, Charles underwent an uninterrupted succession of misfortunes of every kind. Upon the point of being besieged in Oxford, he put himself into the hands of the Scots, who were then laying siege to Newark ; when, though they received him with appearances of respect, they extorted from him orders to the governours for surrendering the strong places, and soon after sold him to the English parliament for four hundred thousand pounds sterling ; an infamous bargain, after which we ought not to be surpris'd at any deed of horror.

The parliament, having the king in their hands, was all powerful. These pretended defenders of liberty were become the oppressors of the nation and the laws, and carried their despotism infinitely beyond what they had so grievously reproached in the sovereign. The army, resolving to destroy this odious tyranny, in order to set up one of their own, carried off Charles, marched to London, entered the city, gave law, and oppressed the parliament.

But in the midst of the army broke out the faction of the *levellers*, who rose against their officers, because the holy spirit puts all the elect upon a perfect equality. Cromwell, having repressed those fanatics by a stroke of genius and vigour, now meditated the most horrid designs against regal majesty.

Charles,



Charles, having made his escape into the Isle of <sup>That</sup> Wight, where he was basely arrested by the governour, <sup>prince's</sup> began a negotiation with the parliament, in which ne- <sup>offers re-</sup> cessity reduced him to take the most humiliating steps; <sup>jected.</sup> but nothing could soften the rebels. In vain did he offer to give up the management of the troops, and the nomination to the great offices, provided these rights should revert to the crown after his demise. In vain did he add new concessions, and even acknowledge that the parliament had taken up arms in its just defence. He was required to deliver up his adherents as criminals, consent to the abolition of episcopacy, and sacrifice his religious principles, which were deeply rooted in his heart. Conscience, which in him prevailed over the interest of the crown, made him inflexible on that point; and the parliament would not relax on a single article.

While the negotiation was on foot, the civil war <sup>The Scots</sup> broke out afresh. The Scots took arms in favour of a <sup>attempt</sup> prince whom they had shamefully betrayed, and several <sup>to defend</sup> bodies of English troops gave proofs of their zeal; but <sup>him, and</sup> Cromwell invaded Scotland, and rapidly conquered all <sup>are van-</sup> before him; Fairfax stormed Colchester, after a vigo- <sup>quished.</sup> rous resistance; and in a very short time the royal party was dispersed and entirely overthrown. To crown such a series of victories and crimes, nothing was wanting but to command the execution of the sovereign.

While he was left in the power of the parliament, the <sup>All the</sup> army dreaded a reconciliation to their disadvantage; <sup>members</sup> and, being resolved to commit the parricide, seized the <sup>of parlia-</sup> person of Charles, and removed him from the Isle of <sup>ment</sup> Wight to a fortress, whence he was afterwards brought <sup>forcibly</sup> to Windsor. But this precaution was not sufficient; <sup>driven</sup> the parliament complained, opposed the army, and <sup>out, ex-</sup> shewed themselves less averse from an accommoda- <sup>cept the</sup> tion; when Pride, who from being a drayman had <sup>Independ-</sup> risen to the rank of colonel, beset the house of com- <sup>ents.</sup> mons with a body of troops, and arrested forty one  
of

of the members ; at the same time, above one hundred and sixteen others were excluded, because they were suspected by the Independents, who now remained absolute masters, and began the trial.

1648.  
Trial of  
Charles I.

A declara-  
tion that  
all power  
is vested  
in the  
commons.

The house of commons, thus regulated, declared the king guilty of high treason for having made war against the parliament, and created a court of justice, with power to judge him. Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton, son in law of Cromwell, were in the number of the judges. The peers having thrown out this horrid bill, the lower house passed a vote—that *the people are the source of all lawful authority ; and consequently the commons, chosen by the people whom they represent, are invested with the supreme authority of the nation ; and all their determinations have the force of law, without the consent of the king and the peers.* As if the king and the peers, in conjunction with the commons, did not make up that constitution which they held so dear, and had used as a pretext for their rebellion ; or a small number of factious men, who had excluded the loyal members, were the house of commons.

1649.  
The king  
before his  
judges.

Charles I. was conducted by colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, before this tribunal of villains ; spoke to them like a good king, refused to answer the indictment, protested that he acknowledged no judges among his subjects, and yet offered to demonstrate the justice of his cause, if invited to it in a proper manner. He was brought before them three times, and still maintained his firmness. Without paying any respect to the solicitations of Scotland, France and Holland, or to the generous conduct of four noblemen, who represented, that as they enjoyed the king's confidence, the punishments of the faults imputed to him ought to fall upon their heads ; in contempt of all the rights of political society, they condemned to death the king of England, Scotland and Ireland, and he was executed on a scaffold before his own palace. If the rebels triumphed, at least the body of the people opened their eyes

He is con-  
demned &  
executed.

eyes in consternation, felt the pangs of remorse, and looked with horror on a crime not to be paralleled in the history of any age or nation.

I shall relate its consequences in the epocha of Louis XIV. Let sovereigns and subjects reflect with care on the reign of Charles I. The first will learn, that there are critical circumstances, when authority is weakened by striving to extend it; when too earnest attempts to enforce rigorous maxims, give life and strength to principles directly opposite; and when the false steps of government may draw on its ruin. The others will see, that if the abuse of authority be dangerous, rebellion against authority is more so; that seditious liberty is worse than the transitory despotism of a monarch; that, in modern states, the laws and opinion of the public are a powerful barrier against the excesses of tyranny; and, above all, that there are no crimes so horrid, to which men will not be led by fanaticism, while it clothes itself with the name and word of God, to cancel every principle, sentiment, and duty.

This reign  
an impor-  
tant lesson  
both to  
kings and  
people.

I have anticipated the transactions of some years, in the epocha of Louis XIV. in order to give the reign of Charles in one view; but this is a less inconvenience than it would have been to interrupt a narration, all the circumstances of which are connected with one another.



## CHAPTER VII.

*Observations on Government and Manners; Religion and the Church; Sciences and polite Literature.*

## I.

PROGRESS OF MONARCHICAL GOVERNMENT, PARTICULARLY IN FRANCE.

To trace the progress of governments; the French monarchy in particular.

IT is an object highly worthy of curiosity, to go back to the origin of governments, and to trace their variations and progress; to see, for example, petty, miserable and oppressed states, become happy and powerful republics; populous and warlike nations, formerly jealous of unbounded liberty, peaceably obeying the laws of a monarch; and monarchies, where absolute power seemed established, changed to a mixed constitution, where the powers are balanced by each other. In the course of the different ages, we have remarked the most important changes; in this place it will be proper to consider the result, and form a general idea, ranging in orderly connexion the scattered and too distant features. Let us particularly turn our eyes upon France, the history of which is better known, whose relations to the other states are more striking, and the different forms of whose political government give a picture of almost all the changes that have happened in other countries.

This inquiry leads to nothing but what is useful.

Such an examination made with impartiality, far from weakening the submission due to the crown, can only render it more voluntary and perfect. It will prove how necessary the increase of the sovereign power was to the state; that if the means used for effecting this purpose were not always equitable, the end has been salutary; and that the misfortunes which till that time befel the nation, proceeded from the disorders of anarchy,

anarchy, or the tyranny of aristocracy. In a word, truth necessarily takes the side of legal authority.

A herd of barbarians, known by the name of Franks, made a conquest of the fruitful provinces of Gaul, under their king Clovis; an able and ambitious chief, whom they followed from choice, not from constraint, and who had the art of directing the will of his followers to his own purpose; but in other respects possessed so little authority, that a soldier dared to dispute with him the right of appropriating to himself a vase, which was part of the plunder taken from the enemy. However, the division of the conquered lands put him in possession of a considerable domain, which, with some small revenues of the crown, and the free gifts established by custom among the Germans, were sufficient for the maintenance of his court. He was even enabled to separate from it some lands, either to recompense the services, or conciliate the affections, of his principal warriors. He still remained vested with the property of the *benefices* which he granted them; and, reserving a right to withdraw them at his pleasure, had the means of punishment as well as reward. These possessions were held on the condition of military service, and stood instead of pay; for as yet no species of hired and standing armies was known.

In what consisted the authority of Clovis.

Lands of the domain distributed among the officers.

The assembly of the nation enacted laws, decided on war or peace, and at least shared the principal rights of sovereignty. Such was the government of all the barbarians; but the influence of the prince naturally increased by his political talents and conquest. The respect entertained by the Franks for his family made the crown hereditary, though it was still conferred by the consent of the people, and there was no rule of succession firmly established: but from that time his successors were enabled to acquire greater authority by pursuing a regular plan, and supporting it with vigour.

National assemblies; influence of the king.

Unhappily every rational system of government was thwarted by barbarous laws and customs. Justice was

No justice, consequently much violence.

in the hands of ignorant warriors, who reduced it almost to the right of the strongest. If crimes were punished, it was either by private revenge or pecuniary compositions; the easiness of which emboldened to the commission of other enormities. Almost all differences were decided by duel, or senseless *ordeals*; the result of all which was, that the turbulent humour of the nation raged with unbridled licentiousness, acts of violence were incessantly multiplied, the strong oppressed the weak, and storms broke out even round the throne.

Christianity of the Franks full of pernicious superstitious.

The conqueror had established Christianity among his people, or rather, if we judge by the conduct of the generality, made them change their external worship, without almost any material alteration in their manners: for we scarcely perceive that the morality of a religion, so pure and beneficent, enlightened the minds of this fierce nation. We only see that they assumed the name of Christians, and that, in general, superstitious practices stood them in stead of the Christian virtues; that the prelates, with some remains of knowledge, though darkened by ignorance, acquired an absolute ascendant over their minds, and soon domineered even in the court. We find the absurd opinion almost universally established, that crimes are expiated, and paradise bought, by lavishing wealth on the ministers of the church; and consequently rich foundations becoming a kind of fashion, the bishops and the monks acquiring immense possessions in land, rising to the rank of nobles, sharing with them the obligation to military service, and adopting the manners of a class entirely devoted to arms. To finish the picture, we see them introducing into public affairs a mixture of crude religious ideas, proper to confound the sacred with the profane, the civil with the spiritual; a mixture from whence resulted a chaos of inconsistent pretensions, that put numberless fetters upon government, and tended to its utter dissolution.

Dangerous mixture of the sacred with the profane.

Causes of the revolution under the first race.

In fact, every thing proclaimed an approaching revolution. The monarchy, being frequently divided among



mong several kings, became a theatre of wars and massacres. Weak and incapable princes abandoned the reins to the mayors of the palace, who governed in their name. After having excessively enriched the church, it became necessary to resume part of its land for the subsistence of the military; when the clergy and monks, being stripped of their property, raised disturbances, either through interest or prejudice. They pronounced sentence of damnation against the great Charles Martel, as an usurper of the patrimony of the poor: but his son Pepin, restoring the consecrated lands, and paying pompous honours to the relics, was the man designed by Heaven to sway the sceptre. Such was the judgment of the clergy, secular and regular, of the celebrated Boniface of Mentz, and pope Zachary; in consequence of which, Pepin wrested from the descendents of Clovis the crown, which they had long shewn themselves unworthy to wear.

This sketch of the first race is sufficient to shew, that, notwithstanding some imperfect maxims of public right, without which it would have been impossible for the nation to subsist, the government had scarce any fixed rules or principles; and the seeds of anarchy, constantly increasing in fertility, must produce dreadful calamities.

Pepin, and above all Charlemagne, heightened the lustre and power of the crown, even by restoring the national assemblies to their ancient splendour. The

Charlemagne reforms the state.

immense labours of the latter, his victories, conquests, zeal for good order, his laws and political administration, present us with an object of admiration in the midst of barbarism. In a better age he would have extirpated the seeds of disorder; and perhaps nothing but his boundless ambition prevented him from establishing the best system of government then practicable. To what purpose were his conquests of Italy and Germany? Would not France, if raised to a state of happiness, have been a more valuable possession than that vast empire? If the Saxons incessantly revolted, notwithstanding

His ambition an obstacle to that work.

ing the terror of his arms, to what were not his successors infallibly exposed, who did not possess that extraordinary genius, which enabled him to surmount so many obstacles and dangers!

Independence of the clergy after the reign of Charlemagne.

Accordingly his son, Louis the Debonnaire, soon became the sport of factions, and the whole empire was divided and filled with insurrections. Charlemagne had been able to restrain the clergy, though he favoured their excesses. Louis drew upon himself the hatred of that body, by endeavouring to subject them to discipline. The clergy then abused their power, and at once erected themselves into judges of the emperor, whom they insulted, oppressed, and deposed. This unheard of attempt brought on numberless others of the same kind. Odious enterprises give, as it were, a right of usurpation and rebellion, because they have been crowned with success. In a word, the ecclesiastical body, drawn on by favourable conjunctures, armed with forged decretals, and deriving power from the blind credulity of mankind, overturned the established laws, and set up others of an arbitrary nature; above all, extended their own jurisdiction, freed themselves from the cognizance of the tribunals; even disposed of the crown, in the name of that God who commands them to be obedient to princes; and imagined that they were exercising rights derived to them from heaven, while they were overturning, or at least violating, the essential order of human society.

Usurpations of the lords, and feudal government.

But the state was threatened with much more dreadful convulsions from the turbulence of the nobility, whose swords seemed perpetually out of the scabbard. From the time of Charles the Bald, son of Louis, the fiefs became hereditary; and it is conjectured with sufficient probability, that the ambition of the vassals might be excited by the example of the church; for as the lands which it was pretended were given to God, remained, as it were, annexed forever to such a bishopric, or such a monastery, was it not natural for the possessor

possessor of a fief to endeavour to transmit his possession to his children? But whatever be in this, the state was torn into shreds: the lords usurped what was the incontestible property of the crown; every one aimed at, and secured, independence; some great feudatories, and an endless number of petty vassals under them, left the king only a mighty name, and a shadow of royalty. They parcelled the domain among them, of which he retained only a few insignificant remains. Legal administration was entirely annihilated by a military aristocracy, or rather anarchy, armed and reduced to a system. Of what advantage to the lord paramount were proud titles, homages, and oaths? Of what avail was his right to command, without power to make himself obeyed? When the barons could give him law, and treat his orders with contempt, he was only a crowned idol.

The more that the feudal government, under the last kings of the Carolingian line, was stuffed with minute rules, singular formalities and precautions, the deeper did anarchy strike its roots; because there was no real governing power. Accordingly we meet only with scenes of disorder and depredations. Thousands of tyrants, armed against each other, spurned the duties and feelings of human nature; slavery became a refuge to the people. That warlike nation, which, in the time of Charlemagne, was invincible, fell a prey to the insults of the Normans, a set of undisciplined and unprincipled pirates; nor shall we be surprised at this, if we reflect on the civil discords, and the mischiefs inseparable from anarchy. To say all in one word, the state of society was then a state of war.

Mischief  
resulting  
from it.

The second race ended in the same manner as the first. As there were subjects who exceeded the king in power, some of them must one day deprive him of the throne; and Hugh Capet, descended from a family of heroes, two of whom had borne the title of king, took advantage of the circumstances to supplant the lawful

End of  
the second  
race.



heir of the crown. It was only by a series of revolutions, commotions, attempts, successful risks, and severe calamities, that this monstrous anarchy was dispelled; that order sprung from the chaos; and the regal authority, which was almost annihilated, raised its head amid so universal ruin. Some kings took advantage of favourable opportunities with address; others seized them with vigour: but, in general, things changed, because it was impossible they should remain on the same footing. Events guided politics much more than politics guided events. Knowledge is requisite to have a rational plan; and though at all times men are endowed with a kind of instinctive feeling, which makes them discern their true interest, the art of governing requires many other qualifications.

To weaken the power of the great men, and subject them to the regal authority, were the most effectual means for the restoration of order. I shall briefly run over the principal facts which led, though slowly, to the proposed end.

**Hugh Capet reunites the dutchy of France to the crown.**  
**The crown hereditary.**

1. Kings without domains (for they had nothing left but Laon) were only kings in name. Hugh Capet, by reuniting to the crown the dutchy of France, and the other fiefs which were his private property, revived the seeds of power; but how far are we yet from the time when that of the sovereign rose to vigour! By causing their sons to be crowned during their own lifetime, the first kings of the Capetian line fixed the succession in their family; and this was a second step to power.

**The crusade advantageous to Philip I.**

2. The madness of crusades, which became epidemic under the great grandson of Hugh Capet, turned, by a remarkable fatality, to the advantage of the king, while it exhausted the kingdom. The noblesse ruined their fortunes, and sold their lands to go in search of adventures, and gain indulgences; and marched into Asia, to give vent to that turbulent and martial disposition which made them so dangerous at home. Philip I. notwithstanding his excessive weakness, by this means enjoyed

enjoyed a peaceable reign, which, in that early period, was a very remarkable phenomenon.

3. His son, Louis VI. surnamed the Fat, smoothed the path to the revolution. The tyranny of the nobles, the numberless violences committed with impunity, and suffered without relaxation, every where awakened sentiments of liberty, which were the more keen as the yoke became more odious. In Italy, Germany, France, and other countries, the same cause, according to the order of nature, produced the same effect. The inhabitants of the cities, and particularly of those in which the advantages of commerce began to be felt, aspired to a freedom of which there remained no vestige; and purchased and kept it, notwithstanding the strong opposition they met with, particularly from the clergy, who attacked them as guilty of sedition. They formed those municipal societies, those *corporations*, which were governed by their own magistrates; and armed for the defence of their privileges, with an obligation to serve their prince against his enemies. Louis the Fat, and his successors, favoured establishments so advantageous to the crown; as, on one side, the lords lost the power by which they oppressed the burghers; and these, on the other, contracted an affection for the royal authority, which they looked upon as a barrier against tyranny.

Establishment of municipal communities.

4. Without the supreme power in the administration of justice, sovereignty is of little value. He who judges, or appoints others to judge, has numberless advantages to procure respect and obedience. The lords had usurped this right when they appropriated the fiefs; and the *royal envoys* of Charlemagne would no longer have dared to shew themselves in the provinces. It was therefore an excellent piece of policy, first practised by Louis VI. insensibly to undermine the signorial courts of judicature. At first the custom was revived of sending commissioners, in quality of superintendents. Afterwards four great bailiffs of the king became judges in some

Progress of the royal judicial power.

some particular cases, which were appropriated to their bench. In process of time, the right of appeal took root; and at last the king became supreme judge. Yet it required time to give so important a reformation strength, even in the king's domain; but Philip Augustus, by recovering the provinces which were in possession of the kings of England, and making himself feared and respected by his vassals, quickened the progress of authority, which was yet unstable.

The Roman law becomes very useful to the crown.

5. What perhaps contributed more to the change, was the new ideas of justice which had spread through Europe. The canon law, notwithstanding the poison of the forged decretals, and the false principles with which it had been tainted, at least shewed a regular form of procedure, an order of jurisdiction, and, in a word, some vestiges of the Roman jurisprudence. Justinian's Pandects, which were found about the middle of the twelfth century, greatly enlarged men's ideas on that subject. Schools of civilians were established, where the Roman law was taught, and extolled with enthusiastic admiration. Though it was overloaded with injudicious statutes in the last ages of the empire, it was supposed a masterpiece of perfection, because the laws of the barbarians were the masterpiece of extravagance. The kings used all their address to introduce it into their dominions. St. Louis encouraged its study, and propagated its maxims. That prince became a legislator, and exercised the supreme power with dignity; repressed the abuses of anarchy by his laws with regard to the coin, and *other essential points*; and established upon solid foundations that right of appeal which gives majesty to the crown. He administered justice with the authority of a sovereign; prohibited the trial by duel, substituting legal proofs in its stead; and thus laid the foundations of an universal reformation, which made visible progress.

Legislative power exercised by St. Louis.

Authority of the civilians.

6. Thus jurisprudence, being no longer confined to a few vague notions and barbarous practices, became a study.



study. But how could an ignorant nobility, which only breathed the spirit of war and adventures, be capable of studying, in order to attain the qualifications requisite for judges? It was immediately found necessary to admit the civilians on the bench, in quality of *reporters*, to give their assistance, or rather to dictate the sentence. Soon after, they became the sole judges. The gown was distinguished from the sword, and formed another class of nobility; while the sword looked with contempt upon that illustrious profession from which it drew part of its power: the consequence of which was, that these two bodies were rivals; it became the interest of the latter to serve the prince against the former, and they employed their knowledge in his cause. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the parliament was fixed in the capital. Being the organ of the laws, it more and more strengthened the basis of monarchical government; yet it must be allowed, that the selfishness and prejudice of our ancient civilians exceeded the just bounds. Building upon some texts of scripture, and passages in the imperial laws, they supposed that the royalty of the Jewish kings, and the despotic power of the emperours, were rules for the constitution of France. This is the ordinary procedure of the human mind, especially when it begins to exercise itself on great objects: it exaggerates things before it comprehends their nature. But the principles of the magistrates were not, on that account, less useful in repressing the disorders of independence: their opinion, in a great measure, formed that of the people; and with their authority increased that of the sovereign, to which they frequently served as bulwarks.

In what manner they contributed to the increase of the royal authority.

7. Philip the Fair, in order to gain the affection of the whole body of the people, in his violent dispute with Boniface VIII. had summoned the commons to the states general in 1303. This step, though hazardous under a harsh and unjust government, immediately produced good effects. The sentiments of liberty,

Admission of the third estate into the states general.

berty, giving more vigour to the commons, tended more to counterbalance the power of the great men. The people, who were formerly slaves, and sunk in brutal insensibility, contracted a regard for their country, interested themselves in the public weal, became susceptible of zeal and generosity, recovered their feelings, and were one of the chief resources of the kings against foreign enemies, or domestic foes to their power. But there likewise rose troublesome times, when the third estate, naturally the rival of the two first orders, which looked upon it with disdain, turned its activity and strength against the king himself. So difficult is it to regulate the balance of the powers! and the equilibrium once broken, the weight falls, and the contexture of the machine seems to be dissolved.

Diminution of the ecclesiastical power.

8. The clergy, whom we have seen so formidable to the kings of the second race, retained the greatest part of their prejudices, and were still very jealous of their excessive authority. But they already perceived, that the interest of the crown could not be indifferent to them; and their religious principles prompted them to inculcate entire obedience, unless they were led astray by pretexts of religion, or extraordinary circumstances. The resistance made by Philip Augustus, and even St. Louis, but above all by Philip the Fair, against the attempts of the Romish court, taught men to distinguish between the cause of God and the pretensions of churchmen. Philip the Long, by excluding the bishops from parliament, took from them one means of encroaching on the civil power. Under the reign of Philip Valois, the king's advocate, Peter de Cugnieres, had the courage to attack this boundless power, which had sprung up in the darkness of barbarism. He combated its abuses and injustice with such reasons, good or bad, as occurred to him; and was answered with authorities and examples, but few arguments. At that time the dispute fell, without having produced any effect; but, by degrees, the people were freed from their subjection to the ecclesiastical courts;

courts; the appeals by writs of error formed a bulwark against oppressions; and the king always acquired more authority, in proportion as his courts judiciously separated the civil rights from spiritual matters; a separation which the nature of things, obscured by time and custom, unluckily rendered too difficult.

9. Under the reign of the unfortunate John, who was a prisoner in England, every thing threatened a renewal of anarchy. The third estate was seized with a seditious spirit, wanted to domineer over the government, imposed laws on the wise dauphin, and forced him to odious submissions. The great charter of the English had almost been again produced in France. But that prince at last dispelled the storms. After his accession to the throne, he repaired the losses of the nation, triumphed over his domestic as well as foreign enemies, and reigned with equal authority and glory. Never did wisdom more clearly display its resources.

Misfortunes of king John.

Charles V. recovers the authority.

But the misfortunes of Charles VI. soon overturned all that had been done by Charles V. The rage of factions, which almost universally prevailed, so entirely destroyed all idea of principles, laws, and country, that men did not blush to sacrifice the crown to the king of England, who fought against it. A foreign prince was acknowledged as lawful king; and the Salic law was trampled under foot, a little after the most solemn homage had been paid to it. Yet, though it may seem incredible, this total overthrow of the monarchy was one of the causes which led to the re-establishment of order and subordination. The more the French had been misled by a spirit of infatuation, the more eagerly did they return to their duty. The more they saw the royal authority debased, even by their own fault, the more did they perceive the necessity and advantage of peaceable obedience.

It falls under Charles VI. but to revive in a short time.

10. Accordingly Charles VII. made two decisive innovations, without the least opposition. He took troops into his pay, and the crown had a standing army. He established

A standing army, and perpetual taille, under



Charles  
VII.

established the perpetual taille for their subsistence; and from that time the crown depended less upon the subsidies granted by the states. It is not to be questioned that these helps were sometimes abused. The military power became an instrument in the hands of ambition. The taille, which was originally very small, perpetually increased, and occasioned murmurs. But are these inconveniences comparable to the scourges of anarchy? Evil is almost constantly the companion of good; and to pass from great to lighter ills, is often the utmost good possible, in a state where neither the manners nor other circumstances will permit the establishment of a wise and solid legislation.

Louis XI.  
makes  
himself  
absolute.

11. Louis XI. son of Charles VII. already affected despotism. He made the great men tremble by his cruelties; accumulated a treasure at the expense of the people; artfully employed corruption rather than arms; avoided war, instead of which he substituted artifice, confining his ambition to the establishment of absolute authority in his own kingdom; and every day increased his power. The death of Charles, last duke of Burgundy, likewise favoured his designs, notwithstanding the irreparable fault with which he is reproached, in not having prevented the marriage of that prince's heiress with an archduke of Austria. His reign forms an important epocha. The kings had the public strength in their hands, and were able to execute great enterprises. Happy had they directed their labours to the felicity of the nation, rather than indulged a destructive passion for conquests; Charles VIII. Louis XII. and Francis I. were little acquainted with their own interests. What folly was it to exhaust in foreign countries the blood and riches of the nation, which a good use of authority ought to have rendered so flourishing!

His suc-  
cessors are  
truly mo-  
narchs.

12. All the great fiefs, except the earldom of Flanders, were reunited to the crown. Its domain was made unalienable, and that essential principle was declared a fundamental law of the monarchy. Besides, the

the ancient inconveniences of the appanages were removed. The care of the finances, justice, legislation, and the military power, centred in the sovereign. He was therefore fully monarch. The states general were not even assembled once during the reign of Francis I. while the nation was engaged in so long and ruinous wars. This assembly, which did not certainly know its own rights, which had neither principles, harmony nor union, was only called to grant extraordinary aids. Francis found means to manage his affairs without such helps; not even Henry VIII. in England, nor Charles V. in Spain, enjoyed so great power.

No assembly of the states general under Francis I.

13. The fanaticism of the sectaries, roused by persecution, or another fanaticism, revived the spirit of independence, and shook the throne. Projects were formed for a republic, and had well nigh been executed in France, as they were in the Low Countries. But at last Henry IV. triumphed over the factious. The wisdom of his administration gives us the picture of a beneficent monarch; governing by the laws, and making the glory and happiness of the kingdom his only aim; ruling his people as a father rules his children: in a word, a prince whose single reign would have raised France to the height of prosperity; had he not been cut off in his course by a superstitious monster.

The government re-established under Henry IV.

14. After him the nation fell back into the troubles of a stormy minority. The faults of government revived the dissensions and rebellions; and a weak king, who abandoned himself to favourites, was neither proper to dissipate cabals, nor to reign in a manner worthy of the son of Henry the Great. Take Richelieu from Louis XIII. perhaps we should see the reign of Henry III. revive. Had it not been for this haughty minister, the crown would have been debased. By taking of Rochelle, and thus crushing the republican spirit of Calvinism; by striking off the heads of many illustrious men, who were leaders of the party; he put the king in possession of the whole authority, or rather attached

Government of cardinal de Richelieu.

it

His excessive authority.

it entirely to his own ministry. Was the monarchical power so dear to the French, and so necessary to their happiness, to contract the vices of tyranny? Unhappily, Richelieu had the spirit of a despot; and circumstances hurried him into excesses, to which he was himself put too much inclined. He loaded the nation with imposts, and in a manner insulted the public misery, by the pomp of his court. He insisted on the parliament paying implicit obedience, without examining the edicts, or debating freely; treated the magistrates as slaves, rather than as depositories of the laws; caused the great men, whose ruin he had sworn, to be tried by judges whom he regarded as servile instruments of his vengeance; and directed their sentences, without even deigning to put on the appearance of impartiality. In one word, arbitrary power displayed itself with such violence in his hands, that hatred pursued him to the grave, notwithstanding the real services which he did to the monarchy.

Seeds of rebellion which he left behind him.

To strengthen authority, to reduce the great men to a state of dependence, and make all the members of the body politic move by the direction of a single head, was an important advantage; but it cannot be too often repeated, that the prudence of Henry IV. his justice, his mildness, and his beneficence, with the vigour of his genius, were more proper to give permanency to this great work, than the thunders of Richelieu. Nothing but a reign, such as we shall see that of Louis XIV. was capable of smothering the seeds of discord which the minister of Louis XIII. left in the nation. Terror and executions were much less effectual instruments, than a better knowledge of the sanctity of the laws, a clearer discussion of the principles of government, the propagation of knowledge among the people, the humanity of the court, the gentle manners and politeness of the great men and nobility, the bestowal or hope of favours, the submission of the magistrates, the splendour of the throne, the reciprocal love of the king for the people, and of the people for the king.

It



It would be easy to apply the principal strokes in this picture to the different monarchical states. The government has every where undergone similar vicissitudes, and changed its form by the same steps. The people every where enjoyed at first almost unbounded liberty, but afterwards became slaves; the lords rose into tyrants, and the kings were without power. The royal authority every where revived with difficulty, gathered strength by employing a greater or less degree of dexterity, and floated between the shoals of weakness and despotism, till at last it subjected all the orders of the state, and concentrated in itself all the powers; acknowledging no fundamental laws, but those which it obliges itself to respect.

All the monarchies passed nearly through the same changes.

I speak not of mixed monarchies: we shall see the great revolution of England in its place. Two illustrious republics merit particular observations.

## II.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE SWISS REPUBLIC, AND THAT OF HOLLAND.

AMONG a spirited people, tyranny has been always productive of liberty. Oppressed after being free, they have taken arms against their tyrants; even defied death, in order to break the yoke of oppression, and carried their point by heroism and perseverance. Happy in their independence, if they strengthen their government by good laws, and such as are proper to guard against the causes of dissolution, arising either from the nature of things or political events.

Tyranny paves the way to liberty.

No state appears less exposed to this, than the confederated republic of the thirteen Swiss Cantons. It took its rise in 1307, and was at first composed only of three cantons, Schwitz, Uri, and Underwalden, which revolted against the emperor Albert. In a short time Lucerne joined the confederacy, which was afterwards strengthened

Origin of the Helvetic league.

strengthened by the accession of Zurich, Zug, Glaris, and Berne. Friburgh and Soleure joined it in 1481; Bâle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, entered into it at the beginning of the sixteenth century. These members of the Helvetic body were naturally united by a common interest; and to this union they owed their strength and security. Independent on one another, governed each by their own laws and magistrates, but leagued for mutual defence, they have acquired a lasting tranquillity amidst the convulsions of Europe.

Happiness  
of the  
Swiss  
founded  
on their  
manners.

One of our Sybarites, at sight of their rugged mountains covered with snow, their towns without luxury or public diversions, and almost all poor, will look upon the Swiss as unhappy. But the sage will perceive, that their happiness consists in that active poverty, and that masculine simplicity, which confine their wants, and furnish necessaries; preserve their morals, and give a zest to the true pleasures of nature; which make men virtuous, free, and content. All being on a level, that is, equally subject to the laws, the difference of fortune is not sufficiently great among them to enable any to become masters of the others. In most of the cantons the people have the right of bearing offices; and the magistrates cannot abuse a power which is limited by time, and restrained by the public superintendence. Simple and equitable laws are executed without constraint; and the statutes acquire their greatest strength from the manners.

They  
have no-  
thing to  
fear.

The Swiss have nothing to fear behind their mountains, which serve them as ramparts; and as they do not enter into the quarrels of princes, they afford no pretence for invasion; on the contrary, it seems the interest of their neighbours rather to defend than subdue them. And in case of invasion, what resources would they not have in their patriotism and courage? If they sell their blood to foreign nations, they by this means have the advantage of training a number of their citizens to be expert soldiers, while it costs the republic nothing

nothing to form them to the trade of war. They keep up the national bravery, at the same time that they supply the resources of a barren and extremely populous country.

A singular proof of their prudence is, that their political harmony makes them almost forget the difference of religion. The civil wars which fanaticism kindled at the beginning of the reformation, were extinguished in a short time. Four Protestant cantons, Bâle, Schaffhausen, Berne, and Zurich; two, Glaris and Appenzel, containing a mixture of Protestants and Catholics; and the seven others, which are entirely Catholics, formed a peaceable union, even at the time when Europe was still reeking with the blood which had been spilt under the pretence of religion. The greater progress that knowledge made among the Swiss, the more convincing was that lesson of Christian morality, that all men are brethren, and that no difference in doctrine ought to break so respectable ties.

As every thing degenerates with time, that people ought to guard against corruption, which destroys virtue and the strength of republics. The aristocratical government, riches and power, of the canton of Berne, seem to presage, at a distance, some fatal event. Foreign manners, after tainting a number of the citizens, may spread their infection into the body of the state. Too great avidity for money may make their hearts venal, and fill them with mean selfishness, instead of love for their country; and what must then be the fate of a state whose stability is principally founded on the morals of its members?

The United Provinces are far from having a constitution equally robust with that of the Swiss. That republic, it is true, shewed, at its origin, the same virtues, the same courage, the simple manners of poverty, invincible hatred against tyranny, wonderful firmness in dangers, and a vigour of resolution which could not be shaken by the overgrown power of the Spanish monarchs.

United  
& peaceable, notwithstanding the difference of religion.

May they guard against corruption.

Change of manners in Holland;



narchs. But besides that those brave republicans were principally actuated by religious fanaticism, the strength of which soon wears out, their vast conquests, and the treasures which they drew from them, necessarily introduced a change of principles. How could the spirit of ambition and commerce be made compatible with the ancient republican virtues?

Faults in  
the con-  
stitution  
of its go-  
vernment.

Besides, the faults of the government were, at the beginning, so considerable, that, according to Grotius, they would have destroyed the republic, had it not been for the hatred with which it was inflamed against the Spanish yoke. Each of the seven provinces forms a separate, independent state, and every city in each province enjoys the same independence. If an affair is proposed in the provincial states, the deputies are obliged to follow the advice of the senate, or council of the towns which they represent. The affairs of greatest moment, peace, war, alliances, and new taxes, must be decided by the unanimous consent of the states general, which are always assembled at the Hague; and its members are, in all affairs, to consult the provinces, from whose opinion they must not make the least variation. Friesland alone trusts to the prudence of its deputies. We see at first view the trammels in which government is confined by those excessive precautions, the delays which they occasion, and how repugnant the required unanimity is to the end of deliberations on matters that require expedition.

Stadthol-  
dership,  
its too  
great pri-  
vileges.

It therefore became necessary to seek a remedy for the evil, from the first establishment of the government; and the stadtholdership was set up; a dignity as necessary as the Roman dictatorship in very tempestuous times; but which ought to have had a fixed period, and, above all, not to have been made hereditary, if the republic had taken proper measures for securing that liberty of which it was so jealous. The privileges of the stadtholder are excessively great. He is general and

and admiral in chief, with the nomination to all military employments : he likewise chooses the magistrates of the towns, which present to him a certain number of persons, from whom he makes his election ; he presides in the courts of justice, where sentence is given in his name ; judges without appeal the differences of cities and provinces ; executes the decrees of provincial states ; has the power of granting pardon to criminals ; lastly, he gives audience to foreign ministers ; and has a right to keep agents in the courts for the management of his private affairs, who have every opportunity of serving him in other matters. Such a magistrate approaches nearly to regal power ; and even from the beginning his prerogatives were sufficient to give uneasiness.

Happily the princes of Orange, William, his son Maurice, and Frederic Henry, brother of Maurice, managed the stadtholdership like good patriots, or at least their ambition had bounds ; and to them ought, in great measure, to be attributed the successes of Holland ; though perhaps they paid so great respect to liberty, only because there were enemies to vanquish. But the peace of Westphalia had no sooner established the victorious commonwealth, than William II. son and successor of Frederic Henry, filled the republicans with just alarms.

Death interrupted his projects in 1660, when the dignity of stadtholder was abolished, but the faults of the government were not corrected. It was soon found necessary to restore it, in order to oppose Louis XIV. It was made hereditary under William III. once more attempted to be abolished, upon his dying without issue male ; again restored, in favour of the second branch of his family ; and the inheritance extended even to the daughters of the stadtholder, as we shall see in another place.

Whoever reflects on the constitution, genius, character, and manners, of the Dutch ; a people entirely addicted to commerce, defended only by an ill disciplined mercenary

The first stadtholders were patriots.

Revolution in the stadtholdership.

The Dutch exposed to danger by their mercenaries.

mercenary army, no longer possessed of that vigour which liberty, springing up, and environed with danger, gives to the mind; whoever, I say, examines these causes, political or moral, will discover in them the principles of the events which have already happened, and perhaps be enabled to foresee those which certain conjunctures may bring on.

Short  
sketch of  
the other  
republics.

Let us represent to ourselves Genoa, rich and destitute of power, ruled by a rigid aristocracy, varying at the pleasure of factions, or with every change of events, and constantly threatened with a foreign yoke, which it is almost impossible for it to avoid. Let us take a view of Venice, undisturbed at home by the slavish spirit of the people, and the chains which the restless jealousy of power has forged for the nobles, but which owes this tranquillity as much to the depravation of manners as to the invariable principles of its government, supporting itself by spies and terrour, more than by the influence of the laws; deprived of that extensive commerce which formed the basis of its power, exposed more than ever to the attempts of its neighbours in case of a rupture, and not daring to trust one of its own members with the sword, which would put the preservation of the state into his power. Let us take a view of Poland, plunged into anarchy even by its laws, and so unluckily constituted, that a single madman, in its diets, is sure of rendering ineffectual every salutary measure which wisdom can contrive; and, lastly, cast our eyes upon Holland, enervated by its riches as well as its conquests, much less free in its internal government, and less respectable abroad, than in those tempestuous times when it seemed ready to be crushed by the Spanish monarchy. This examination will convince us, that, in order to form a real republic, the people must be warlike, poor, virtuous, separated from their neighbours, defended by their frontiers and their manners, and solely ambitious of maintaining their liberty, laws, and government; in a word, a people such as the Swiss.

REVOLUTIONS



## III.

## REVOLUTIONS IN THE MANNERS.

THERE is a reciprocal influence between the manners and government ; and we every where see the political constitution, in a greater or less degree, follow the changes of the moral order. Both are connected and combined in such a manner, that their relations cannot escape attentive eyes. The observations on the manners, which I have scattered in this work, account for part of the events ; and I shall here add some other remarks, equally important.

Reciprocal influence of the manners & government.

When the western nations were led by the crusades into the East, new ideas, produced by entirely new objects, sowed the seeds of a revolution. Not only the Greeks, but the Saracens, shewed the crusaders a model of more refined manners, of a more agreeable and convenient intercourse in society. At Constantinople they saw the magnificent monuments of the arts, and became acquainted with the Asiatic pleasures. Commerce opened to the Italians and Flemings a source of wealth : men of different countries grew into acquaintance, learned to treat with each other, and communicated ideas and inclinations more worthy of social life. This first step was important.

The crusades first introduced a change in the manners.

Chivalry, which was brought into fashion by the Saracens of Spain, notwithstanding its romantic extravagances, became a principle extremely useful for the civilization of manners, and even mitigated the horrors of war. The gallant knights distinguished themselves by devoting their lives to the defence of the weak and unhappy, placed the point of honour in generosity as well as courage, and were as ambitious of gaining the esteem of their enemies, as of victory itself. After the example of St. Louis, and a multitude of French heroes, Edward III. and above all his son, the prince of

It was increased by chivalry.

Wales, were models in this kind. The maxims inculcated on young people in the schools of chivalry, the habits which they there contracted, the sentiments of honour fostered by enthusiasm, necessarily produced lasting and remarkable effects.

Love a  
grand  
spring in  
chivalry.

One of the principal springs of chivalry was love. This passion, which is so frequently pernicious, was the nurse of heroism among the Spartans, and had the same influence among the Celts and ancient Germans; nations, which looked upon the women with a religious eye; revered in them the manly virtues adorned by the charms of the sex; and joined to love, sentiments the more noble, as they looked upon the conjugal tie to be inviolable. Doubtless there remained in Europe a ground work of those Celtic manners. We see heroines shine in the career of arms, as well as knights. We see the knights paying a kind of religious homage to their ladies; dedicating to them their thoughts, exploits, and triumphs.

The poets  
inspire a  
taste for  
gallantry.

When the Troubadours, the first provençal poets, began to deify the fair sex, and their songs became the delight of the courts, the spirit of gallantry spread more widely. It is easy to imagine, that this pure, and in a manner mystic love, so much celebrated by romance writers and poets, often degenerated into gross voluptuousness; but it formed a commerce of wit and sentiment, which softened the rudeness of ancient manners.

The wo-  
men polish  
the man-  
ners, but  
with great  
inconve-  
niences.

The delicacy, sensibility, graces, and insinuations, of the women, the empire of beauty, which they exercise with so much address, the secret of chaining the men round them in the fetters of pleasure, necessarily increased the politeness of society, when they appeared in it with freedom and lustre: but it is likewise to be considered, what dangerous passions, intrigues, and disturbances, they fomented. Francis I. having brought them to court, they soon played so considerable a part, as to make the affairs of state frequently depend upon their whims. The kings and the great men had mistresses,

treffes, whom they were obliged to enrich, and to whom they were sometimes under a necessity of sacrificing every thing. The common method used by Catharine Medici, for the execution of her ambitious projects, was seducing men's hearts by the attractions and artifices of her women. Her's was the reign of corruptive galantry.

Mankind then fell into a dreadful depravation of manners, which first sprung up in Italy from the luxury of the Medicis; a cruel refinement of policy, which supplied the want of power by villainy, or the abuse made of sciences and talents to gratify the passions. From thence it spread like a pestilence mingled with the air. All the vices were sublimed; and, what rendered the case more unhappy, they were founded upon principles reduced to a system, and it was matter of boast to be ingeniously mischievous and corrupted.

The court became a theatre of voluptuousness, luxury, effeminacy, debauchery, and knavery; where the cultivation of the understanding, and the taste for letters, produced more poisonous fruits than real advantages; where men piqued themselves on their wit, by giving a loose to disorders; where they reasoned on religion while they were projecting the blackest crimes; where the fury of faction was inflamed in the lap of pleasures; and where a thousand detestable examples tended to infect the public manners.

Had the fanaticism of the Protestants been less violent, the contagion would have had a more rapid and extensive course. Their austere doctrine, their invectives against the disgrace brought upon religion, and the consequences which they drew from thence, to the advantage of the reformation, were a bridle to the Catholics. The disputes on the points of faith filled both parties with a malignant and savage animosity. Religious zeal absorbed every other sentiment; enthusiasm and violence every day added bitterness to their hatred; and, to conclude, the atrocity of the civil wars, where

Corruption  
sprung  
from Italy.

Vices of  
the court.

Fanaticism  
maintains  
the authority  
of the  
ancient  
manners.

the



the name of God was the ordinary signal for murder, preserved in society the traces of the ancient barbarity.

The nobility yet little addicted to luxury or study.

Besides, the arts and commerce, being confined within a narrow circle, had not greatly propagated luxury, nor that effeminacy which is its inseparable concomitant. The ladies yet travelled on horseback. Almost all the conveniences which we enjoy were unknown. In general, the nobility disdained study, hated repose, and breathed only a passion for arms. In the midst of the convulsions of the state, rivers of blood were spilt, from the false point of honour alone. This is a subject which deserves consideration.

The custom of duels deeply rooted.

That barbarians should decide their differences by duel; that it should be often prescribed by the laws themselves, may be looked upon as a custom naturally resulting from the savage manners of those nations, the ignorance of the legislators and judges, and their want of ability to establish better regulations; in a word, from those prejudices which are the concomitants of barbarism. The Roman jurisprudence, with the changes which it occasioned, and the interest which princes had in establishing it, could not alter the manners of a turbulent and ungovernable nobility. The high respect paid to chivalry, consecrated the abuses of valour; the spirit of duelling was fomented by its tournaments and challenges. In vain was this custom anathematized by the church, and opposed by the edicts of the kings; such was its prevalence, that, after judicial combats were formally abolished, there were yet several instances of their being ordered by the judges. Under Philip Valois, Charles VI. and Charles VII. we find *arrêts* of parliament which leave not the least doubt in this respect. And what were the facts to be proved? One of them adultery, another incest. Henry II. commanded a duel to be fought in the beginning of his reign, afterwards swore never to permit another, and in a short time broke his oath. The challenges of Francis I. and Charles V. though, like so many others given by kings

to

to one another, they produced no effect, had made military men more ready to take offence than ever, and more untractable in their quarrels.

Every law, directly repugnant to established manners, is either productive of almost no good, or even attended with a great deal of mischief, when the current of the manners is too strong for the statutes. The passion was irritated by prohibition. As men could no longer combat in lists with the formalities of justice, they fought clandestinely for the slightest causes. It was an epidemical madness. A word, a gesture, a nothing, obliged them to give or accept a challenge, if they would not forfeit their honour. The relations and friends thought themselves obliged to take a share in these murderous quarrels, according to the custom of the ancient Germans. Near eight thousand pardons, granted in less than twenty years to duellists who had killed their adversaries, sufficiently prove to what a prodigious height the mischief had grown in France. Henry IV. renewed a fruitless prohibition, which he himself neglected to put in execution. Louis XIII. or cardinal Richelieu, caused two noblemen who had fought a duel to be beheaded; a severity equally ineffectual with the law.

It is an evident proof, that there remained still a rust of barbarism difficult to be cleared off. The real charms of society were little known, the debaucheries of the table making its principal pleasure. Still less were men acquainted with those social qualities which spring from enlightened reason, and exert themselves in a pleasing intercourse with good company. Nothing was more uncommon than examples of that kind. Yet atrocious abuses could be extirpated only by a politeness which avoids every appearance of offence, the sentiments of humanity, good manners, and decorum. A revolution was necessary; it was requisite that men's minds should change their bent, and reason give a new turn to the manners. We shall see a total alteration take place in the reign of Louis XIV.

Their being forbidden, only multiplied them.

A new revolution in the manners was necessary.

In

France  
was more  
proper  
than the  
rest of  
Europe.

In France, the national genius, lively, gay, generous, fond of novelty, extremely susceptible of perfection, less confined than elsewhere by the fetters of government and prejudice, ought naturally to make rapid progress, when, once having taken its flight, it found itself in the right direction. The circumstances were not the same in Spain, Portugal, England, Germany, and the northern kingdoms, where there were more obstacles to be conquered. Italy, which had greater abundance of models, then found itself, by its political situation, out of condition to produce all that genius seemed to give reason to expect. Fear and distrust chain up emulation and the social virtues.

#### IV.

#### DECLINE OF THE POWER OF THE ROMISH COURT.

The court  
of Rome  
not formi-  
dable.

THOUGH the prejudices of religion preserved their influence, yet, after the league, we find no more of those violent shocks which the court of Rome gave to the greatest kingdoms. The reason is, that on one side the kings had strengthened their power; and on the other, experience made the popes dread new rebellions against the Holy See. What danger did not Paul V. run, by fulminating the interdict against Venice? Might not the Venetians have followed the example of the Dutch, and so many other states? Did not the principles of the senate breathe a bold spirit of liberty which it was dangerous to provoke? In our days, Rome would be far from taking such a step.

Yet Urban  
VIII. had  
augmented  
its ter-  
ritory.

Yet that enterprising court kept up her pretensions, to enforce them with greater or less vigour, according to conjunctures. Attentive to the means of acquisition, she still extended the limits of a state which was formed by skill rather than strength. She even repaired the breaches that had been made in it by Nepotism. Urban VIII. (Barberino) enriched his nephews without dis-  
membering



membering the provinces. After the death of the last of the Roveros, he reunited to the ecclesiastical domain, Urbino, Montefeltro, Gubio, Pefaro, and Sinigaglia, which had been possessed by that family.

Under his pontificate arose the dispute concerning the dutchy of Castro, of which the family of Farnese was deprived soon after. The duke of Parma, Ranuccio I. son of the celebrated Alexander, had borrowed large sums from the *Mount of Piety*, which lends, at interest, on pledges or security. His son Odoard having quarrelled with the Barberinos, the pope's nephews, the corn of Castro was refused to be taken any longer in payment; that prince was obliged to accumulate the arrears of his debt; he was afterwards required to discharge the whole at once; and that being impossible, the dutchy of Castro was confiscated, that they might pay themselves. The duke, being seconded by the Italian princes, and protected by cardinal Richelieu, took up arms, and triumphed over the Barberinos. In 1644, the dutchy was obliged to be restored; but the same year, after the death of Urban, Innocent X. confiscated it anew. It was again restored; yet, by dint of negotiations, the apostolic chamber found means to get possession of it once more, and has kept it ever since.

Castro  
taken from  
the family  
of Farnese.

Richelieu, in his quarrels with Urban, shewed vigour, so far as he was not prompted to relax by his personal interest. The bishops were forbidden to see a nuncio extraordinary, who had boasted that the greatest part would declare in favour of the pope. The vacant hats were a means of reconciliation. The court of Rome had great advantages, by the honours and favours which were left at its disposal. How often has the public good been sacrificed to it, from ambition or vanity!

Richelieu  
embroiled  
with the  
pope, and  
reconciled.

Besides, it must be agreed, that the Italian prejudices prevailed among the French clergy, as well as through the whole Romish church. Pithou, and other learned civilians, had brought invincible arguments against them; yet they were still maintained by the clergy, though

Italian  
prejudices  
among the  
French  
clergy.

Cardinal  
Perron.

though their interests were united with those of the crown. The liberties of the Gallican church were reckoned by the generality of that body, I do not say problematical, but almost erroneous. In the last assembly of the states general, held in the year 1614, cardinal Perron, celebrated by his embassy to Rome in the reign of Henry IV. had expressed himself rather like an Italian than a French prelate. His ritual of Evreux speaks of the bull *In cœna Domini*, as a sacred and inviolable law. On the contrary, the third estate, in the same assembly, could not pass the independence of the crown into a law, and by proposing it had drawn upon themselves the clamours of the ecclesiastical body. Next year, 1615, the bishops redoubled their efforts for the publication of the council of Trent; and even bound themselves by oath, at Paris, to observe its decrees, and to appoint provincial synods, where it should be received with greater solemnity. A thing more surprising is, that the court had a little before annulled an arrêt of parliament, by which the sovereign was declared independent in temporals.

Oath of  
the bishops  
in favour  
of the  
council  
of Trent.

Richer  
persecuted  
by Riche-  
lieu.

Even Richelieu, that minister so jealous of absolute authority, joined the persecutors of Richer, a doctor of the Sorbonne, whose crime was, his having proved that the pope was subject to a general council, that he is not a monarch in the church, and that princes may interfere in such ecclesiastical affairs as do not concern the faith. Richer was imprisoned, and would have been delivered up to the pope, had not the chancellor and parliament been active in his defence. F. Joseph du Tremblay, a famous capuchin, half enthusiast, half knave, the friend and emissary of the minister, had inveigled the doctor to his house, and suddenly introducing a gang of murderers, forced from him a recantation, in presence of an apostolic notary, which Richer always reproached himself for having signed. This was called serving the church!

How

How can even the slaves of opinion resist examples so striking? After tracing down the history of the several ages, how can they not feel the necessity of examining the decisions of their masters? Do they not find, through the whole world, a multitude of absurd errors, long consecrated by superstition and ignorance, and afterwards acknowledged with difficulty for what they actually are? Was it doubted that the popes had a right to depose excommunicated princes, when they exercised that extraordinary privilege, and lighted up civil wars, by a bull? Was their infallibility, though still more extraordinary, called in question, when it caused decrees to be received, which were equally contrary to equity and reason? Did the clergy of France, at present so estimable, entertain any doubt, in the reigns of Henry III. and Henry IV. that heresy ought to exclude a prince from the throne? Did they think in the time of Louis XIII. as they afterwards did in that of Louis XIV.? And do they not in our days look with contempt upon some false notions, which, at the beginning of the century, they thought it their duty to maintain?

Useful reflection for the slaves of prejudice.

Such is the fate of religious prejudices, which have not divine faith for their foundation. They are believed at first, because men are blind. By degrees they are qualified, when men dare to open their eyes on their falsehood, and then they fall of themselves. Happy are men when possessed only of religion, instead of so many pernicious superstitions!

Progress and fall of religious prejudices.

Rome was too much interested in maintaining her principles, not to raise every imaginable barrier against what might destroy them. Hence that *index* of prohibited books, into which were put some excellent compositions; for instance, the history of the president de Thou, the works on the liberties of the Gallican church, and (who could have believed it?) the translations of the Holy Scriptures. Hence the anathemas and persecutions against the efforts of the human mind to discover

Good books condemned, because they displeased at Rome.



ver and propagate the truth ; as if the Catholic faith was founded upon contemptible ignorance ! as if its enemies were not furnished with arguments against it, from this dread of its being injured by the approach of light ! Let us declare it boldly, the shame of the ancient inquisitors, in every country, is stamped on the good works which they have condemned ; and to have shaken off the yoke of their tribunal, constitutes, in part, the happiness of nations.

Contradictory sentences passed on books, worthy of reflection.

The contrariety of the sentences passed on books might furnish matter for new reflections. Even in Spain they were frequently different from those given at Rome : the ecclesiastical annals of cardinal Baronius were condemned there, because they controverted the *monarchy of Sicily*, the right of legation granted to the Norman kings. What was condemned at Rome from one motive, met with the like fate in other countries on a different account. There the doctrine of cardinal Bellarmin was proscribed, because it denied the pope a direct power over the kings in temporals ; in France, a mark of disgrace was fixed upon it by the parliament, because it attributed to the pope an indirect power, which at bottom had the same consequences. To conclude, the tribunal of Rome, though always ready to condemn judicious authors upon frivolous suspicions of heresy, approved those seditiously fanatical theologists, whose writings tended to the encouragement of regicide, and the destruction of governments. The approbation and censure of books deserve a place in the history of the human mind.

The court of Rome bestows titles.

Notwithstanding almost all the Catholic clergy were so entirely devoted to the court of Rome, she lost much of her influence and power from the time that the civilians acquired knowledge, and the sovereigns firmly established their authority. She was therefore obliged to give a value to trifles. If she could not command, she endeavoured to dazzle. In 1630, the cardinals petitioned Urban VIII. that their title of *Most Illustrious* should

Petition of the cardinals for the

should be changed into *Most Eminent*; that, except <sup>title of</sup> emperours and kings, every one should be obliged to <sup>Eminence.</sup> give it them in conversation, and in their letters; otherwise they would not receive the letters, nor ever after see the persons; and, lastly, that if any prelate, even a patriarch, dared to take the title of *Eminence*, he should incur the indignation of the Holy See, and be *ipso facto* deprived of the revenue of his benefices; all which requests were granted by the pope. From that time the bishops have likewise desired pompous titles. They were styled—*Reverend Father, Your Reverence*; but they have acquired the appellations of—*My Lord*, and *Your Greatness*; and *Reverence* is left to the monks.

Urban, who is extolled for his erudition, love of learning, and talent for poetry, employed himself seriously in affairs which seemed only proper for the times of barbarism. The order of the Capuchins had been established about a century; and their reformation, multiplication, and the preference given them, could not fail of displeasing the other Franciscans, who obstinately disputed with them the title of children of St. Francis; and, to elude a bull of Paul V. in their favour, maintained, that if they were descended from the holy founder, at least it was not in a right line. However, the title of the Capuchins was secured by a bull published in 1627, declaring that their institution takes <sup>Singular dispute between the Capuchins and other Franciscans.</sup> its date from the beginning of the seraphic rule, because they have always observed it. Another quarrel arose between them and the Recollets, on account of the form of their habits; and the pope determined by bull, under pain of excommunication, what dress they should all wear. <sup>Bulls on this subject.</sup>

These trifles serve to paint the spirit of the times; and to these we might join the absurd privileges lavished on the several religious orders, to free them from all authority, except that of the pope. This was a thing to which the clergy and courts of justice in France were far from consenting. But let us pass to those theological matters which affected the interests of society.

## V.

## THEOLOGY.—CASUISTS.—PERNICIOUS DISPUTES.

Scholastic  
theology  
in the  
time of  
Erasmus.

ERASMUS exposed himself to the most bitter reproaches, by turning into ridicule the theologians of his time ; but did service to religion, and gave a proof of the solidity of his genius. Scholastic theology, the only one then known, being infected with the reveries of Arabic peripateticism, was commonly a barbarous, unintelligible jargon, which degraded the simplicity of the Christian faith by obscure futilities, disfigured the doctrines by extravagant explications, and drowned a small number of sacred truths in a sea of frivolous and insoluble questions ; disputing on *formal* and *material* objects, on the *distinctions of the ratio ratiocinata and ratio ratiocinans* ; in a word, upon terms which never answered to any idea. Those grave doctors, looking down from their chair with contempt even upon the learned, thought themselves the organs of divine truth when they quoted a passage from St. Thomas or Scotus. They were little acquainted with the Bible, still less with the ancient fathers, and least of all with ecclesiastical history. Their sophisms, supported by passages which often proved nothing, stood instead of all certainty ; and yet their schools resounded with disputes that never could be brought to an end.

The Pro-  
testants  
cause the  
revival of  
more use-  
ful studies.

This, as we have observed, was a subject of triumph to Luther and the Protestants. With the arms of erudition and criticism, they discomfited ridiculous adversaries, whose pride would never suffer them to acknowledge that they were in the wrong, and who commonly defended themselves only with absurdities. It is not to be doubted that the innovators abused those arms, which, however, were necessary to vanquish them ; and, in consequence, the necessity of combating them gave birth to true theology ; that is, to the study of the Holy



Holy Scriptures, tradition, and the councils. The learned languages became an object of application; the sacred doctrines were drawn from their source; and a plan of controversy was pursued, which set the truth in open light. The Jesuit Bellarmin was of great service in opening this career.

Yet the theologians did not quit their taste for the scholastic method, and it has been perpetuated to this day in several schools. Hence comes it, that a number of men of superiour genius have in these places contracted so strong an aversion from a barren study, and perhaps have quitted them with less conviction of the truth of a religion in which they had been so ill instructed. False theology has probably increased the number of infidels; and how many real friends to religion has it not caused to waste their abilities in sophisms!

Yet the faulty scholastic divinity was perpetuated.

The evil would have been less, had it produced only a waste of time, had not discord awakened in the schools afterwards to shake the Christian world. But interest, or bigotry to a particular order, enthusiasm, superstition, and the *theological hatred*, which grew too remarkable, rendered these disputes as pernicious as they were public. The same causes revived in the West those troubles which had been stirred up in the East by the monks. Had it not been for the rivalry between the Dominicans and Augustins, Lutheranism would perhaps have fallen into oblivion. Numerous and active bodies spread in every quarter, preachers, confessors, teachers, jealous of each other, were the more to be dreaded in theology, as they gave to their peculiar opinions the importance of the most necessary truths.

Hence sprung pernicious discords.

The Dominicans and Cordeliers disputed for some centuries on the *immaculate conception*. The first maintained, that the Holy Virgin participated in the sin of Adam; the second, that she was born free from original sin. All Spain was thrown into a ferment by this dispute, in which all Europe took a part. Not only societies

Violent disputes on the immaculate conception

cieties of divines, but bodies of magistrates, bound themselves by oath to support the glory of Mary, which was made to depend upon the opinion of the Cordeliers; and their antagonists were run down as enemies to the Mother of God, and her Son. In order to defend a doctrine so zealously opposed, the Dominicans sometimes joined pious frauds to arguments. They forged miracles, because the same arms were used against them; and even were guilty of a crying imposture at Berne, which stirred up the Swiss against the Romish church, while Zuinglius was preaching the reformation. They were opposed by the devotees, but their credit was great at Rome; and their opinion has not been condemned, though the contrary doctrine seems to be consecrated by the institution of a solemn festival. It is likewise disputed, whether the Virgin was spotless at the first or the second moment of her conception. Happily this dispute remains in the dust of the schools.

The Jesuits  
oppose the  
Dominicans.

With the Jesuits, who took their birth in the midst of controversy, and are the keenest theologians that the world has produced, arose new troubles, which could not be appeased but by the destruction of the order. Being rivals of the Dominicans, they at first shewed themselves zealous defenders of the prerogatives of the immaculate Virgin, and all the acts of devotion instituted in her honour. Soon after was kindled the theological war upon grace; its nature; in what manner it acts upon the will; how it produces good thoughts and good actions in man. These things the theologians pretended to know, though they were the secrets of God. The Thomists, or Dominicans, had found out a *physical præmotion*; the Scotists, or Franciscans, a *prædefinition*; and with these high sounding terms they explained the mystery, by rendering it more incomprehensible. Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, from a persuasion that their systems destroyed free will, or an ambition to have the glory of establishing a new sect, contrived his *middle science*; by which God foresees future contingences,

Systems  
on grace.

Molina, &  
the middle  
science.

ces, and models his conduct in the dispensations of grace, so that its efficacy depends upon the foreseen consent of the human will. This opinion gave disgust. The Dominicans, in particular, cried out pelagianism; and stirred up the universities of Spain, the inquisition, the bishops, and the court of Rome. Clement VIII. died when on the point of condemning the doctrine of Molina.

The famous congregation *de Auxiliis*, which he had established in 1597, to examine Molinism, ended only in 1607, under the pontificate of Paul V. The Dominicans and Jesuits disputed in these assemblies without ceasing, and with the utmost violence. The bull of condemnation was drawn up; but the Jesuits, being lately banished from Venice for having conformed to the pope's interdiction, made a merit of their blind obedience to his orders. He prohibited both from condemning each other; and the animosity still continued, as well as the dispute.

Henriquez, a brother of Molina's order, had said, with regard to that theologian's book—*If ever such a doctrine is supported by powerful and subtil men belonging to a religious order, it will put the church in danger, and cause the loss of a great number of Catholics.* It is visible what sense these words bore in the mouth of a man who confined his views to theology: he was apprehensive for the doctrine of grace. But, considering matters in a temporal view, the prediction will appear more just. When a powerful and political order of men embraced a new doctrine, they must naturally set every spring in motion to establish it, even on the ruins of their antagonists. And hence, how many storms arose in the church! How many cabals in society! How many worthy men were sacrificed by false zeal! And what mischiefs brought upon religion, which is so unjustly charged with the faults of its ministers! The dispute concerning grace is become a hydra, one head of which, being cut off, produces a number of others, from the implacable ardour for disputes.

Congregation de Auxiliis.

Prediction of the Jesuit Henriquez against Molinism.



Affair of  
Baius.

So early as the year 1565, the Cordeliers had lodged an information against several propositions of Michael Bay, or Baius, a doctor of Louvain, who, attacking the immaculate conception, seemed to them likewise to attack the faith on the subject of grace; and Pius V. condemned seventy three of them as *heretical, erroneous, suspicious, rash and scandalous*, though without specifying any of them in the bull. Thus it was made a matter of dispute, which of them were heretical, and which not.

Embar-  
rassment  
of the doc-  
tors of  
Louvain.

The doctors of Louvain were, above all, embarrassed by a comma, the position of which would fix the sense of a sentence. They consulted Rome, and the affair was drawn out to a great length; the disputes continued in that university till 1580, when Gregory XIII. sent thither a bull, confirming that of Pius V. which Tolet, a celebrated Jesuit, since a cardinal, was ordered to enforce; and succeeded, obliging Baius not only to retract his propositions, but to acknowledge that he had written them in the same sense in which they were condemned.

New dis-  
pute on  
account of  
the death  
of Janse-  
nius.

This triumph of the Jesuits (for their doctrine directly contradicted that of Baius) prepared the way for Jansenism. Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ipres, who was formerly a doctor of Louvain, had written a large book to explain the sentiments of St. Augustine on grace; which was published in 1640, after his death, immediately attacked by the Jesuits, and condemned by Urban VIII. in 1642. But the doctors of Louvain treated his bull as surreptitious, because it imputed to Jansenius the doctrine of Baius. They sent a deputation to Rome; and at the end of three years, their deputies returned, no farther advanced than they were the first day of their journey.

An infor-  
mation  
lodged a-  
gainst his  
doctrine,  
which is

The spirit of the French was no less turned for controversy than that of the Flemings; nor were the French Jesuits less bigoted than others to their systems, which they used their utmost endeavours to connect with religion.

ligion. Accordingly the affair of Jansenius, or rather his work, soon put the clergy in motion. The abbot of St. Ciran, a friend of the bishop of Ipres, had propagated his doctrine among some men of uncommon merit, such as the celebrated Arnaud, and the learned recluses of Port Royal. A doctor of the Sorbonne, imagining the faith to be in danger, lodged an information against some propositions in the book of Jansenius, and a censure of them was on the point of being published; but it was stopped by a writ of error, entered by sixty doctors. However, the affair was prosecuted by about fourscore bishops, who informed against the famous five articles at Rome; and Innocent X. condemned them in 1653, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of the general of the Dominicans, and the remonstrances of eleven French prelates.

These articles contain in substance, 1. That there are some commands of God impossible to the just, because they have not sufficient grace. 2. That grace is irresistible. 3. That a liberty free from constraint, not from necessity, is sufficient to constitute merit or demerit. 4. That the semi Pelagian heresy consisted in maintaining, that it was possible to resist or comply with the motions of grace. 5. That Jesus Christ did not die for all men.

A doctrine so harsh, and which too much resembled that of the Protestants, seemed actually supported by some passages of St. Augustine. But as the Protestants were wrong in building upon some passages of St. Paul, taken literally, in order to combat truths equally conformable to scripture and reason, Jansenius and his partizans were equally wrong, in refusing to soften the harshest expressions of St. Augustine, who, in the heat of controversies, was not always consistent with himself. If it had been possible to define, or even honestly to examine, in theology, how far authority ought to extend on each point, the principal root of the disputes would have been destroyed. But the passions of the

condemned by Innocent X.

The five articles.

The Jansenists abused the authority of St. Augustine.

Jansenists were too much inflamed not to overleap the proper bounds.

Their adversaries wanted prudence.

On the other hand, was it prudent to make so great a noise against an obscure book, scarcely known by a few doctors? Was it wise to awaken quarrels which might be productive of a schism? Was it just to accuse of heresy, and to persecute as heretics, pious and respectable men, always firm in their profession of the Catholic faith, as well as their theological opinions? Was it not dangerous to inspire party zeal by kindling hatred and enthusiasm? The consequences of this affair, which I shall resume elsewhere, were always productive of affliction to the church.

Moral theology.

Another species of theology, brought into fashion by the monastic orders, less subject to the abuses of controversy, because it did not affect the doctrine, yet became another source of offences to religion, because it was soon corrupted. I speak of *moral theology*, or the science of casuists, which offers us matter for important reflections; nothing being more interesting than morals.

How morality was taught in the times of antiquity.

Socrates, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, and several of the Stoics, had treated morality like philosophers, establishing its duties, and inspiring the love of virtue, with a strength of reason and force of sentiment worthy of the greatness of the subject. The fathers of the church had handled it like true pastors of souls, explaining the rules of the gospel, inculcating them in an affecting manner, and teaching every thing necessary for making men live like Christians. On the revival of learning, the theologians treated it like scholastics, by introducing their subtilties and sophisms, making every thing a subject of dispute, substituting words instead of things, embroiling simple ideas, and obscuring fundamental truths by false applications. Things grew much worse when the mendicants took the lead.

It was disfigured by the scholastics.

Why the casuists multiplied.

Then private confession became more frequent, and its details more minute. The canonical penances grew into



into defuetude every day; and the ancient rules were supplied by the particular judgment of the confessor, on whom alone it depended to prescribe the satisfaction, and administer absolution. As he stood in need of principles to direct him, it was thought proper to form them into a system of science: but instead of consulting the gospel, the canons, the fathers, and even the dictates of universal conscience, they composed, in the scholastic method, crude, diffusive treatises; a species of arbitrary codes, where cases were frequently decided according to the directions of caprice and ignorance; and this career being once laid open, swarms of casuists hastened to complete it.

The distinction of sins into mortal and venial, the one incurring the guilt of damnation, the other not, ought to have stopped them at the first step, had they reflected on their enterprise; for the difference between a venial and mortal sin being, according to them, as it were, infinite, in what an abyss must they necessarily be lost, when they wanted to settle the degree of the sin in each particular case! For example, how could they find the point where theft became a mortal sin? Would one, two, or ten crowns give it that character, which it could not have below a certain sum? To settle on such foundations rules for conduct, and the expiations necessary for salvation, is exercising the judgment of God with the prejudices of the school; subjecting Christian morality to the most capricious whimsies.

One of the first fruits of the new science was relaxation, of which Fleuri has given the reason—"The casuists were for the most part friars, and of the mendicant orders, who had appropriated almost entirely to themselves the study of casuistry, and the administration of penance. But mendicity is a great obstacle to severity and firmness, with regard to those to whom its professors are indebted for their subsistence." As the same author remarks, they committed two essential faults;

Distinction of sins into mortal & venial.

Relaxation produced by the doctrine of the casuists.

faults ; the one, in excusing sins by their scholastic distinctions ; the other, in making absolution much too easy.—“ That facility,” adds he, “ seemed necessary in “ the countries where the inquisition prevails, in which “ the habitual sinner does not neglect the Easter duty, “ for fear of being informed against, excommunicated, “ at the end of the year declared under suspicion of “ heresy, and prosecuted as a heretic ; accordingly it is “ there that we see the loosest casuists.” Their doctrine comes almost to this—*That a person may sin every day, on condition of confessing every day.* (Eighth Disc. of Fleuri.)

They made every thing problematical.

Certainly disorders must be multiplied by an expiation so easy. But the casuists did not stop here ; while they endeavoured to establish exactly the distinction between sins, they sapped even the foundations of morality. Every thing was made problematical. It was a question, whether fraud, revenge, calumny, homicide, rebellion, regicide, could not be lawful. Sometimes they were justified by the most insensate decisions. That pernicious doctrine of *probability* was invented, which teaches the art of committing sin with a safe conscience. An opinion became *probable* by the authority of a grave author, or a learned and pious man ; and from that time it might be followed with confidence. But almost all the casuists of greatest reputation entertained some sentiment not only false, but even contrary to the essential principles of civil or Christian society. Thus the judges of conscience seemed to teach and authorize crimes.

Probability.

The morality of the ancient philosophers more pure.

If the morality of the relaxed casuists be compared to that of Cicero's offices, not to speak here of that of the Stoics, we shall see that a theology, corrupted by shameful prejudices, is, in a great degree, inferior on many essential points, even to the light of reason. Nor is this matter of surprise ; that class of writers reasoned little, was ill acquainted with the human heart, did not go back to first principles, but copied and quoted one another ;

another; and a few leaders drew after them a blind multitude, of whom they were the oracles.

The Jesuits, who entertained an eager fondness for every kind of employment, where religion could give dominion over mankind; and were sometimes excited by zeal, sometimes by rivalry and the spirit of their order, soon signalized themselves in this so perilous study. They not only followed the beaten track, but struck out new paths, and at last bewildered themselves like the others; and the more, as, setting out from the same principles, they extended their consequences farther, because in general they pursued a system with greater skill. Sanchez, a great casuist of their order, whose purity of morals they extol, published a *folio* volume on marriage, where, in several passages, he seems to transgress the rules of modesty. So many inconveniences did the madness of deciding every thing draw after it.

The Jesuits bewildered in this career.

The just reproaches brought against other casuists of the society are sufficiently known by the *Provincial Letters*. In that satire Paschal dissembles, that they had borrowed the greatest part of their opinions from other hands; gives a malicious interpretation to the severe morality of some Jesuits, who entertained sentiments directly opposite to the generality; and ascribes execrable intentions to the whole body, which it is impossible to imagine can be entertained by any order of that nature; yet his masterly work gives a clear demonstration, that the abuses of moral theology, like those of the scholastic, have been one of the pests of the human race.

Provincial letters.

Every excess, even in what is good, produces a real evil. To the relaxed doctors, who flattered the passions, were opposed a set of rigourists, that in some sort destroyed human nature. Their gloomy misanthropy, forming extravagant ideas of Christian perfection, changed the most harmless actions into crimes. They condemned lawful and innocent amusements; combated those

Excesses of the rigourists.



those sentiments and practices, without which it would be impossible long to keep up the intercourse of civil life; imposed false duties, whose yoke was only proper to make virtue odious to the generality of mankind; passed sentence of damnation with the same ease as the others gave absolution; and, supporting their decisions by sacred authorities, believed themselves the sole apostles of evangelical morality, while, in fact, they were making it impracticable. This is the ordinary genius of reformers.

Evils resulting from the contrariety of decisions.

What was the result of this contrast? Cruel uneasiness to timorous consciences, and to infidels a sovereign contempt for the judgment of theologians. One school prohibited, under pain of damnation, what another permitted, or openly excused; opposite decisions were made in the same spot; practices, adopted with utility in one place, severely prohibited in the neighbourhood; men's minds floated between the more or less probable, without having any rule to guide them; sometimes trifles were aggravated into crimes; sometimes they flattered themselves that crimes might be expiated by certain formularies of devotion; the same casuist, who looked with a favourable eye on practices really vicious, was mercilessly rigid in matters of no importance; and these two extremes were greatly hurtful to the cause of Christianity and the welfare of society. A clear, precise system of morality, extracted from the divine law, and a knowledge of the human heart; an upright conscience, enlightened by the gospel and by reason, ought to have served as casuists;

A spirit of contention even among the missionaries.

The spirit of contention followed the theologians to the extremities of the world. If heroic zeal transported missionaries into regions the least known, it very seldom escaped the bad effects of discord, when the apostles wore a different habit. In China, where the Jesuits for some time met with success, the Dominicans soon raised a quarrel against them on the subject of the ceremonies practised in honour of the illustrious dead.

These

These the Jesuits looked upon only as civil customs, which ought to be tolerated; but in the eyes of the Dominicans they were criminal idolatries, which it was necessary to eradicate. The affair, being carried to Rome, has there taken different turns according to the times: but it is sufficient for us to observe, that the Chinese government was provoked at these strange disputes, which, among people of less moderation, have equally ruined the fruit of all the missions; and that if the christian faith be declining in Europe, as is but too visible, it is in a great measure owing to a cause entirely similar.

If we trace historical facts, or even reflect upon the nature of things, we see that almost all religious quarrels issued from the cloisters, to set the western church in a flame, as had before been done in the East. The character, the rules, prejudices, influence and credit of the monks; even their virtues, when not guided by true wisdom, all concurred perpetually to renew the flame. Those vast bodies, which seemed the subjects of a foreign power, much more than of the states on whose vitals they preyed, still multiplied and spread. The sixteenth century produced the Theatins, the Jesuits, the Fathers of the Oratory, the Somasques, the Camaldoli, the Servites, the Fathers of Doctrine, the Recollets, the Piquepuces, the white Friars, and bare footed Carmelites, &c. This last order, which was established in France at the beginning of the seventeenth century, possesses threescore and two religious houses in that kingdom. And what was this in comparison of the Jesuits and Capuchins?

Almost all religious quarrels take their rise in the cloisters.

Multiplication of the religious orders in the sixteenth century.

## VI.

### SCIENCES AND LITERATURE.

IN order to dispel the darkness, which is always favourable to disorders; it was necessary that science should give birth to truth; but what for many ages went under

In what science long consisted.

der

der that name was its greatest obstacle. Science then consisted in a string of reveries, erected into principles by men, who, if I may use the expression, drew from them their very existence; who were filled with rage at the least appearance of novelty, and anathematized reason, because they justly dreaded its power. Aristotle, or rather his ignorant commentators, exercised a despotic authority over the human understanding. Even the laws, by an extraordinary piece of folly, rigorously prohibited every doctrine contrary to the absurdities of the schools. In a word, it may be said, that thought and common sense often became a crime.

Philosophy consisted only of absurdities.

If peripateticism debased theology, what must have been the state of philosophy? And if we have seen it, even in our days, stuffed with *categories*, *universals*, *quiddities*, *negations*, *forms*, *essences*; in a word, with ridiculous chimeras, magisterially taught to youth in several public schools; in what must it have then consisted, when mankind had no idea of better studies, nor any liberty to pursue a better method of education?

Beginning of the true philosophy.

Francis Bacon.

But men of liberal and adventurous genius, capable of breaking the yoke of pedantry, gave wing to reason, and opened for her a path to knowledge. Under James I. king of England, Francis Bacon, a more illustrious philosopher in his disgrace, than he had been a good chancellor in the court, comprehended in some short works the seeds of the greatest part of the discoveries; demonstrated the faults in the common methods, and proposed others of an excellent kind; shewed the futility of abstractions, which the doctors made their sole study; established the basis of science on the phenomena of nature; and in a manner prophesied the miracles which they would in a short time produce. In a word, he proved, that men knew nothing; which was at that time the most important lesson they could learn.

Descartes.

Some time after appeared Descartes, a gentleman of Touraine, who, reflecting upon the false notions with which he had been tinged by his masters, and on the scientific



scientific ignorance which was revered under the name of philosophy, attempted to new cast the whole set of his ideas, in such a manner as, if possible, not to leave the least trace of his first errors. He began with doubting, of which he demonstrated the necessity: and what is more necessary in philosophy, where the examination of ideas and the force of argument ought alone to fix the judgment? By the help of one or two evident principles, he overthrew the whole dark system of the schools. But his too lively imagination led him astray. He wanted to create a new system, and explained the mechanism of the world by vortices, which indeed shew ingenuity, but are disowned by nature. In a word, he formed a sect which at least inspired a taste for reasoning clearly; and this was giving a mortal blow to the peripatetic philosophy. The passage from error to truth is so difficult, that it is almost impossible to travel through it without committing some false step. Perhaps even the wild notions of this famous philosopher were of use to the progress of science. His seducing system at first formed enthusiasts, too far superiour to the schoolmen not to triumph over their sophisms and injurious language. His method has since directed the observers of nature; and these have dissipated the Cartesian illusions.

His method.

Its errors.

Gassendi, an ecclesiastic of Provence, more circumspect than his cotemporary, and consequently less capable of making a noise, secretly attacked the old prejudices, and attempted to reform the atomic system of Epicurus. He opposed the absolute *plenum* of the Cartesians with solid arguments. His atoms floating in the void with a reciprocal attraction or repulsion, approach nearer to truth than the vortices. Yet this could only be an hypothesis more or less probable. Experiments were yet wanting; men stood in need of facts, that they might arrive at truths; and, happily, genius turned its efforts to that quarter.

Gassendi,

Galileo.

One of the men to whom the sciences are principally indebted for their progress, and who was most severely punished for it by ignorance, was Galileo, the natural son of a Florentine nobleman. The system of Copernicus, which so well explains all the phænomena by the motion of the earth round the sun, deserved to have him for a defender; and his observations placed that system in a light equally convincing with demonstration. About the end of the sixteenth century, an accidental discovery had been made of the first essay towards a telescope, by adjusting to the ends of a tube two glasses, one concave, the other convex; but Galileo did not hear of it till 1609, and immediately perceived the advantages that might be reaped from such an instrument, if brought to perfection. He meditated, he made trials, and soon constructed a telescope, which shewed objects three times larger than they were in nature. By still improving his discovery, he at last procured one that magnified three and thirty times. In a word, he discovered the mountains of the moon, the satellites of Jupiter, the phases of Venus, the spots and rotation of the sun. Thus the analogy between the earth and the other planets was so clearly established, that, unless men shut their eyes against the light, the motion of the globe, which we inhabit, became almost indubitable.

His telescope, and his discoveries in Astronomy.

The sciences persecuted.

But enlightening mankind was exposing one's self to dreadful misfortunes. Gassendi dared not combat Aristotle but with endless precautions, submitting his works to the judgment of the church; as if Aristotle and the faith had any thing in common. Descartes, having retired into Holland, that he might there enjoy liberty, met with persecutors in that country; and found himself accused of atheism, after having published new proofs of the existence of a deity. The persecutions which Galileo met with in Italy, are too memorable to permit us to pass them entirely in silence.

Galileo persecuted by the inquisition.

In 1616, a monk having lodged an information against him before the inquisition, he appeared, and was obliged,

obliged, by cardinal Bellarmin, to promise that he would no more maintain the system of Copernicus by word or writing; sixteen days after which he published his *Dialogue*, where one of the interlocutors explains that system, and shews clearly which side was in the right. Upon this the enemies of good sense returned to the charge. Galileo was again summoned to Rome; and in 1633 the inquisition passed that sentence, which was certainly worthy of the tenth century—*To say that the sun is in the centre, and has no local motion, is a proposition absurd and false in sound philosophy; it is even heretical, being expressly contrary to the holy scripture. To say that the earth is not placed in the centre of the world, nor immoveable, but that it has even a diurnal motion, is likewise a proposition false and absurd in sound philosophy, and at least erroneous in the faith.* The philosopher was sentenced to imprisonment, and constrained solemnly to abjure those *absurdities and heresies*. He died blind in 1642, at the age of seventy eight.

Remarkable sentence of the inquisitors.

I make no reflection upon this decree of the inquisitors, which was signed by seven cardinals. It will be everlasting matter of confusion to presumptuous men who condemn what they know not, and in a manner dare to make religion an accomplice of their irrational excesses. Ought they not at least to have remembered that they were often obliged to take the scripture, on which they built their dogmatical sentence, in a sense widely different from the literal?

This decree is a good lesson.

Let us observe, for the honour of learning, the cardinal Bentivoglio, an estimable historian, who had been a disciple of the philosopher, and was first commissioner of the inquisition, opposed this act of injustice to the utmost of his power: but what could a single sage do against the madness of the times?

Cardinal Bentivoglio favoured the philosopher.

The world is indebted to Galileo for other important discoveries. He observed that bodies of unequal weight fall with equal velocity; that the motion of falling bodies is accelerated in the ratio of the odd numbers; that

Other discoveries of Galileo.



that the unequal vibrations of a pendulum, provided they be small, are performed in equal times ; whence he concluded, that a pendulum would be a proper measure of time. This idea doubtless gave rise to the pendulum clocks invented by the celebrated Huygens in 1656.

Torricelli.  
The microscope.  
The gravity of the air.

Torricelli, a disciple of Galileo, walked in the steps of his master. He invented the microscope, an instrument as necessary for the knowledge of nature, even as the telescope. By the experiment of mercury, inclosed in a glass tube, he proved that the weight of the air was the cause of the phenomena of the pump, and of all that the schools attributed to I know not what *horror of a vacuum*. This Pascal soon after demonstrated by new experiments.

All the sciences begin to make progress.

We do not mention the astronomical labours of Tycho Brahé and Kepler ; nor the new modelling of Algebra by Vieta, in France, during the sixteenth century, and which was applied with more success to geometry by Descartes ; nor the circulation of the blood discovered by Harvey, in England, &c. &c. When men applied boldly to useful sciences, observed and studied nature, bid defiance to old errors, and breathed the spirit of truth ; when experimental philosophy and mathematics accustomed them to think justly, and to shake off ruling prejudices ; when successful discoveries roused emulation and confidence, the curiosity of some, and the genius of others ; it might then be hoped that all the sciences would make rapid progress, and mutually aid each other in surmounting the numberless obstacles that stood in their way.

Pedantry still too common.

This revolution still required much time and pains. Men of letters were, in general, entirely destitute of the philosophic spirit. The greatest part preserved the pedantic taste, attached to the ungrateful studies of pure erudition. They wasted their strength on passages of Greek or Latin authors ; arrogantly despised what did not bear the stamp of antiquity ; and the foul lan-

guage

guage with which their works abound, was in their esteem a beauty of style. Saumaise and F. Petau, both men of learning, combated with these fishwomen's weapons.

Besides, we should deserve the same reproach as the men of erudition, did we not do justice to their painful lucubrations. They have procured to us information useful to philosophy as well as literature, and have prepared the materials for the palace of taste and reason. How many truths have been recovered from oblivion, by criticism applied to religious matters ! how many errors hath it not abolished !

The false decretals, for example, still preserved their authority, which for ten centuries had been productive of so fatal effects. At last, David Blondel, a Protestant minister, demonstrated that they were the work of imposture ; and their patrons dared no longer support them against demonstration. Our French civilians have done greater services to the states ; because, had it not been for them, the kings and people would, perhaps, have been still unacquainted with the *imprescriptible* rights ; the loss of which has plunged them into an abyss of misfortunes.

Under Louis XIV. we shall see France become the most brilliant seat of letters and the fine arts. After Tasso, who died in 1595, Italy produced no more of those masterpieces, which gain universal admiration. The writers of that country rather indulged in sportive fallies of wit, than signalized themselves by superiour efforts of genius. Spain degenerated still more. Her dramatic poets, and other literati, abandoned nature for bombast ; and the Don Quixote of the ingenious Cervantes was only a just satire on the national taste. *The only good book they have*, says the author of the Persian Letters, with too great severity, *is that which shows the ridiculousness of all the rest.* In England, Shakespeare created the drama under the reign of James I. A poet who often degenerates into low buffoonery, but is still admired

Services  
done by  
men of e-  
rudition.

Blondel  
and the  
French  
civilians.

Bad taste  
in Italy  
& Spain.

Shake-  
speare &  
Milton.

admired by the English, on account of some excellent passages which hide his faults. The same thing may be said of Milton, whose *Paradise Lost* did not see the light till 1667. One must be an Englishman to look upon those sublime geniuses as models of good taste.

Cardinal  
Richelieu  
revives  
the spirit  
of litera-  
ture.

One thing, for which cardinal Richelieu deserves the greatest encomiums, is having, as it were, cleared the soil from which were to spring so many works worthy of immortality. He favoured letters, which he cultivated himself; and though his vanity as an author perhaps exposed him to ridicule, his example served as a spur to genius. French prose acquired elegance under the pen of Balzac and Voiture, notwithstanding the turgid style of the one, and the coquetish affectation of the other. Malherbe shewed the charms of poetic harmony. Peter Corneille, after some indifferent works, produced the *Cid*; to which no other nation had any thing comparable. Richelieu, being jealous of this poet, ordered the French academy, which was established in 1635, to criticise that celebrated piece; and their criticism, as well as the work itself, was a proof of the progress the nation had made in literature, which was rendered much more striking by the tragedy of the *Horatii*, and above all by *Cinna*, that were written after the *Cid*.

The lan-  
guage al-  
most fix-  
ed.

The language had very near been fixed in the reign of Louis XIII. as the *Provincial Letters* appeared in 1654, eleven years after his death; a book which we would believe to have been written in the most brilliant period of Louis XIV. It is evident, then, that the barbarism which prevailed so long in France, proceeded only from the wrong method of study. The national genius only wanted some good models and encouragement.

Prejudices  
still sub-  
sisting.

It is just matter of surprise, that at the time when Descartes was blasting peripateticism, and Corneille elevating the soul to the sentiments of the Roman heroes, the great, the body of the people, the clergy, and the magistrates,



magistrates, were still the slaves of many absurd prejudices. Astrology maintained its credit; trials for witchcraft were common, and attended with horrid consequences. Urban Grandier, who unhappily had offended the minister, was burnt alive in 1634, on a charge of having bewitched several nuns: however, the Sorbonne determined that their depositions were not admissible. But they gave the following extraordinary reason for their opinion; that even supposing them to be possessed, yet, according to St. John, the devil is a liar; and he might, on other occasions, accuse the most virtuous persons.

Trial of  
Urban  
Grandier.

It is a question difficult to be decided, whether it would not have been more beneficial to the nation, that the light of the sciences had preceded the masterpieces of the *belles lettres*. In general, it may be observed, that, for a nation to be enlightened, it is necessary that it first be polished: the pleasures of sentiment must first dispose it to relish those of profound reason; agreeable studies exercise the mind to a habit of thinking; and the beauty that affects the feeling, leads to truth, which is less striking. From those flowers of genius, with which France was covered, were to spring the fruits of wisdom and truth of every sort.

The *belles*  
*lettres*  
ought to  
precede  
the sci-  
ences.

The Luxemburgh, the Palais Royal, the Val de Grace, and the Sorbonne, are stately pieces of architecture, which were constructed during the reign of Louis XIII. Vouet was the father of the French school of painting, while the Flemish was immortalized by Rubens and Vandyke. The dawn of the fine arts shone forth in France, and proclaimed the approaching wonders of the reign of which we are now to take a view.

The fine  
arts.

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## FOURTEENTH EPOCHÆ.

LOUIS XIV. *This Epochæ, which is the most interesting in history, comprehends an immense number of objects that require a particular narration, and deserve many reflections. The State of all Nations is on the point of acquiring a settled form; Learning and the Arts, circulating from one country to another, are on the eve of producing new ideas with new manners; and great revolutions about to produce a change in the political systems. Here curiosity is principally roused, and, unless its attention be fixed on the essential points, would be in a manner overwhelmed with a fruitless abundance. To avoid confusion, in treating a subject of such extent, I have divided it into several parts, where the facts can be methodically ranged.*

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### BOOK I.

[From the Accession of Louis XIV. in 1643, to the War of 1667.]

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### CHAP. I.

*Continuation of the War against the House of Austria.—  
Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.*

1643.  
Europe  
shaken  
with trou-  
bles and  
civil wars.

**W**HEN Louis XIV. ascended the throne, at the age of four years and a half, Europe was in a turbulent state, which threatened France with a tempestuous minority. The war kindled by cardinal Richelieu against the house of Austria, either with a design to bring down its power, or to make himself necessary, continued its ravages, notwithstanding the preliminaries signed in 1641. The emperor Ferdinand III. less formidable than his father Ferdinand II. struggled

struggled against the forces of France and Sweden, without being able to dispose of those of the empire. Philip IV. king of Spain, had lost Roussillon, Catalonia, and Portugal; but, exhausted as his vast monarchy was, he still defended himself against the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French, who were united by their common interest. If England, shaken with dreadful convulsions, no longer intermeddled in the affairs of the continent, the fury shewed by the republicans, in the war with which they persecuted an estimable king, necessarily changed, in a short time, into an activity which increased the national power. And to close the list, France, unhappy as well as the other states, was exposed to intestine discords, at the same time that it was obliged to support a fierce, obstinate and ruinous war.

Louis XIII. had, by his will, appointed a council of regency for the queen, Anne of Austria; but that princess wanted the power of administration unlimited; for which purpose she addressed herself to the parliament; and that body, pronouncing sentence as if it had been a civil matter, annulled the last will of a king, under whom it had enjoyed little credit or influence. Cardinal Mazarin, an Italian of an insinuating and artful character, who had for some time been settled in the kingdom, soon rose to the post of prime minister, and seemed to inherit the power of his benefactor Richelieu. The fortunes of some courtiers were destroyed as usual, and others raised upon their ruins: events, which for some days are the universal subject of discourse, and afterwards buried in everlasting oblivion. But no alteration was made in the plan of the old ministry.

Anne of  
Austria  
regent in  
France.

Cardinal  
Mazarin  
prime mi-  
nister.

They who are fond of the details of wars will look for them in other works; histories are full of them, and are not, on that account, of greater utility. Were we to adopt such a plan, we should fill whole pages with proper names, even though, like Mr. Henault, we composed only a bare nomenclature of the facts of each campaign. And who could read them without disgust?

The de-  
tails of  
war would  
be endless  
and su-  
persuasive.



Who could retain them? Perhaps it would be sufficient to observe, with regard to all these wars, that none of them procured the victor sufficiently great advantages to compensate the evils of which it had been the cause.

Ministry  
of Spain.

After the death of cardinal Richelieu, his rival, the count duke d'Olivarez, who had been absolute master in Spain, was disgraced. Don Louis de Haro, less despotic, less enterprising, than Olivarez, was become prime minister, and France had gained by the change. Imagining that the minority of Louis XIV. opened to them a field for victory, their army marched from the Low Countries into Champagne, besieged Rocroi, and spread the alarm on every side.

The Spaniards  
invade  
France.

The great  
Condé  
victorious  
at Rocroi.

Happily the French troops were commanded by a young hero, scarce twenty one years of age, Louis duke d'Enguien, son of the prince of Condé. Genius supplied his want of experience; and though he had orders not to risk a battle, yet he fought and gained that of Rocroi, where the famous body of Spanish infantry was destroyed. This infantry, formed on the model of the Swiss, made the principal strength of Spain. Their commander, the count de Fuentes, fell gloriously; and the prince exclaimed—*I could wish to have died like him, had I not been victorious.* The victory at Rocroi paved the way for a series of triumphs.

He takes  
Thion-  
ville, and  
passes in-  
to Ger-  
many.

The great Condé (for the duke d'Enguien already deserves that glorious name) soon made himself master of Thionville, which in the last reign it was thought imprudent to attack. His presence becoming necessary on the other side of the Rhine, as the marshal de Guebriant had been slain at the taking of Rothweil, and the divisions occasioned by his death had brought on the loss of the battle of Dutlingen, followed by other ill successes in Suabia; Merci, the emperor's general, having even made himself master of Friburgh; Condé arrived, attacked him in an intrenched camp near that city, and, though inferior in number, defeated the imperialists, after a battle which lasted three days. Phi-

1644.  
Battle of  
Friburgh.

lipsburgh

lipsburgh and Mentz were the fruits of this victory. Other expeditions. Gaston, duke of Orleans, had a little before made himself master of Gravelines, which held out two months. But the French were less successful in Catalonia, where Philip IV. defeated the mareschal de la Mothe, and took the towns of Lerida and Balaguier.

While Condé was enjoying his glory in France, the mareschal Turenne commanded the army in Germany, Turenne beaten at Mariendahl. and advanced into the heart of the country, to take advantage of a great victory gained by the Swedish general, Torstenson, in Bohemia: but he committed an error, (the only one, it is said, of which he was ever guilty) and consented that the allies should separate from his army; when Merci, taking advantage of the opportunity, defeated him at Mariendahl, in Franconia, (1645.) 1645. Battle of Nordlingen. On this news Condé set out, joined Turenne, attacked Merci near Nordlingen, and gained a third victory as glorious as the preceding. The illustrious Merci fell like Fuentes.

The prince then marched to take Dunkirk from the Spaniards, (1646) but was sent into Catalonia, where he miscarried at the siege of Lerida, for want of the necessary succours. This check was a triumph to those who looked upon him with envy; for the passions of courtiers sport with the public prosperity or ruin. But Taking of Dunkirk. the following year (1648) he renewed their vexation, by the battle of Lens in Artois, which he gained over the emperor's brother, the archduke Leopold. Battle of Lens, in 1648. The speech he made to his soldiers before the battle, is preferable to all those with which the ancients have overloaded their histories—*My friends, remember Rocroi, Friburgh, and Nordlingen.*

A war was likewise carried on in Italy against Spain. War in Italy, occasioned by the Barberinos. The Barberinos, nephews of Urban VIII. who had quarrelled with his successor Innocent X. having found an asylum in France, and Mazarin being discontented with the pope for refusing to bestow a hat on his brother; this private pique had an influence on the general

ral operations. The war was carried to the coasts of Tuscany, for the sake of being near Rome; and though the siege of Orbitello was raised, yet, Piombino and Porto Longoné being taken, Innocent accepted the terms imposed upon him. Thus do petty interests almost always mingle with the more specious motives for shedding of human blood.

Philip IV  
unable to  
support  
the war.

Philip IV. who was naturally a good prince, but weak, and governed by favourites, found himself unable to support the weight of the war, and could obtain no assistance from his people. In 1645, the states of Arragon refused to take the oath of allegiance to his son; requiring, as a preliminary, the restoration of their privilege not to bear arms out of their own country; a refusal and claim which could proceed only from the most violent discontent. Philip, being desirous at least to lessen the number of his enemies, made a treaty of peace with the United Provinces, by which he acknowledged their independence, and abandoned to them all their conquests.

He makes  
peace with  
Holland,

which  
abandons  
France,  
from mo-  
tives of  
policy.

This republic had engaged not to treat without France, to which it lay under the greatest obligations. But in politics, interest or actual convenience prevails over past services; and as self preservation is the first law in all states, they think themselves free from their engagements, when they are no longer consistent with the public weal. Holland began to dread France more than Spain; she obtained from the latter all that she could desire, and was unwilling to contribute to the too great power of the other. If she appeared guilty of ingratitude, she could at least colour it with specious reasons. By this treaty, which, though concluded in 1647, was not signed till January 1648, an end was put to a war of fourscore years, in which the heroism of liberty had gloriously revived the wonders of ancient Greece.

Insurrec-  
tions at  
Naples,  
and in  
Sicily.

Never had the Spanish monarchy been reduced to such a state of weakness and humiliation; and, as an addition



addition to its misfortunes, the kingdom of Naples was on the point of being lost. That people, who are naturally prone to sedition, were hurried into rebellion by the oppressive taxes and vexations of the viceroys and their subalterns. At Palermo, the revolvers were headed by a brazier; and all Sicily, except Messina, was seized with the same epidemic fury which animated the populace of that city. The same part was played at Naples by a fisherman, named Mazaniello. Under his orders, the financiers, with part of the nobility, were massacred, the houses pillaged, and numberless acts of violence committed. Mazaniello was, in his turn, murdered by the mutineers, who, in like manner, butchered a nobleman whom they had put in his room. A third leader proposed to establish a republic under the protection of France; and this scheme being adopted, they called in the duke of Guise, whose family had some pretensions on Naples; upon which that nobleman quitted Rome, where he was endeavouring to procure a dissolution of his marriage, exposed himself to the greatest dangers, passed through the Spanish fleet, arrived almost alone, and the people eagerly conferred upon him the title of doge (1647.)

1647.  
The duke  
of Guise  
proclaim-  
ed doge.

Mazarin judiciously favoured this enterprise; yet he sent no succours to the duke, perhaps from a suspicion that he aspired to the title of king; and every thing in a short time returned to its former state, both at Naples and in Sicily. Guise was betrayed by the man who had invited him, and sent to Spain, where he remained four years in a severe imprisonment. Dreadful executions were made of the Neapolitans; fourteen thousand of whom are reckoned to have been massacred.—“No people (says Gianoné, in his history of that kingdom) is more greedy, and less capable, of liberty, than the Neapolitans. Giddy in their conduct, inconstant in their affections, unsteady in their opinions, they hate the present, and are too much depressed or elevated with the fears or hopes of futurity, according to the dictates

III suc-  
cess of his  
enter-  
prise.

The Nea-  
politans  
incapable  
of free-  
dom.

“dictates of impetuous passions.” Such a people must suddenly pass from rebellion to a kind of servitude.

Negotia-  
tions at  
Westpha-  
lia.

Thus did the flames of war rage through the whole of Europe; and yet negotiations for a general peace had been carried on in Westphalia, ever since the year 1644. These negotiations, which were endlessly complicated and difficult, are explained in the curious work of F. Bougeant. A thousand rights or claims to be conciliated, a thousand interests to be provided for, hostile religions to be disarmed, the chaos of the Germanic government to be disembroiled, the despotism of the emperor to be restrained, all the powers to be satisfied, or at least reunited in a single system of pacification, was the greatest work, of this kind, ever undertaken. The glory was shared between the counts d’Avaux and Servein, plenipotentiaries of France, and the son of the chancellor Oxenstiern, and Salvius, plenipotentiaries of Sweden. The first treated at Munster with the Catholics, the second at Osnaburgh with the Protestants; but nothing was to be determined except by concert.

Interested  
motives  
which re-  
tarded its  
conclu-  
sion.

Had either of the two powers concluded a separate treaty, it would have been of considerable advantage to the enemy. Accordingly, they employed all their address for that purpose. The Swedes were often shaken, either by very advantageous offers, or because their victories gave the law. However, they perceived, that the surest method was, not to separate from France. The two crowns demanded satisfaction to be made at the same time, and required it to be considerable, at the expense of the empire. The emperor disputed every inch of ground: the war continued; and its events, as they were fortunate or unhappy, caused perpetual variations in the plan of the negotiators, while the fraudulent policy introduced into Europe in the fifteenth century, ardently displayed its utmost subtilty. Must the interests of humanity have so little weight in public affairs?

At last, the campaign of 1648 compelled Ferdinand III. to bend. The duke of Bavaria having broken the neutrality which he had lately promised, Wrangel, a famous Swedish general, joined Turenne, to fall upon his electorate. These two generals defeated the imperialists, took Donawert, and laid waste Bavaria; while Koningmark, another Swede, no less celebrated, invaded Bohemia, penetrated as far as Prague, took the little city, and gave it up to be plundered. The booty was immense, the queen of Sweden's share alone being estimated at near seven millions of crowns. The old town was besieged, when news arrived of the peace. The extremity to which the emperor was reduced, with the passion of queen Christina for study and the fine arts, had hastened its conclusion; and Mazarin, being threatened with a civil war, was become more tractable.

1648.  
Campaign  
fatal to  
the impe-  
rialists.

The treaty of Westphalia was solemnly signed at Munster, the 24th of October 1648. As it is the basis of all succeeding treaties, and a fundamental law of the empire, it is necessary to be acquainted with its principal articles. The summary given of them by M. Puffendorf, in his Chronological Abridgment of the History of Germany, appears to me so well drawn up, and so instructive, that I think I ought to use it, with a very few alterations.

Treaty of  
Westphalia.

#### SATISFACTIONS GRANTED TO THE POWERS.

FRANCE had the sovereignty of the three bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; the city of Pignerol, Brisac, with its dependencies; the Sundgau, the landgraviates of Upper and Lower Alsace, and the right of keeping a garrison in Friburgh.—Sweden, besides five millions of crowns, had the archbishopric of Bremen, and the bishopric of Verden, which were secularized; Hither Pomerania, Stettin, the Isle of Rugen, and Wismar in Mecklenburgh; the whole to be held as a fief of the empire, with three voices in the diet.—The elector of

Satisfac-  
tions to  
France,

Sweden,

of



of Brandenburg was recompensed for the loss of Hither Pomerania, by the cession of the bishopric of Magdeburgh, which was secularized; and those of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin, which were declared secular principalities, with four votes in the diet.—The dukes of Mecklenburgh had, in exchange for Wismar, the bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratzburgh, in like manner erected into secular principalities.—The dukes of Brunswic Lunenburgh Hanover had the perpetual alternative in the bishopric of Osnaburgh; so that a Catholic bishop, elected by the chapter, was to be succeeded by a Protestant bishop of that house.—The landgrave of Hesse Cassel, Palatine, an eighth electorate, of the Lower Palatinate, &c. and an eighth electorate established in his favour, which was to be suppressed if either of the two branches of his house, that of Bavaria or the Palatine, became extinct.—The republic of Switzerland was declared sovereign, and exempt from the jurisdiction of the empire.—All the other princes and states of the empire were restored to their lands, rights, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the troubles of Bohemia, and the year 1619.

#### SETTLEMENT OF THE STATE OF RELIGION.

REGULATIONS WITH REGARD TO RELIGION IN THE EMPIRE. THE transaction at Passau in 1552, and the peace of religion in 1555, were confirmed in their whole extent.—The Calvinists were to share in all the privileges of the Lutherans.—All the ecclesiastical lands possessed by the Protestants in 1624, and by the elector Palatine in 1619, to remain in their possession.—Every beneficiary, Catholic or Protestant, shall lose his benefice if he change his religion.—Every immediate member of the empire shall have the right of changing and reforming religion in his own dominions, as far as the statute of 1624, and the compacts made with his subjects, shall permit him.—The subjects that abandon the religion established

established in their country in 1624, may be tolerated by the prince; but if he will not grant them liberty of conscience, he shall be obliged to allow them three years to quit his dominions.—The imperial chamber shall be composed of twenty four Protestant members, and twenty six Catholics. The emperor shall receive six Protestants into the Aulic council.—An equal number of Catholic and Protestant states shall be chosen for the diets of deputation, except when they are summoned for an extraordinary cause: in this last case all the deputies shall be Protestants, if the cause regards Protestants, and in the same manner for the Catholics.—At the diet, and in all the tribunals of the empire, nothing can be concluded by a plurality of Catholic voices against the unanimous consent of the Protestants.—If in the diets the suffrage of the *evangelic body* is found to be contrary to that of the Catholics, nothing can be determined but by way of amicable composition. If the same case happen in the two tribunals of the empire, the causes shall then be brought to a general diet. (These were so many precautions against the religion of the emperor oppressing the other.)

#### REGULATIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE PUBLIC GOVERNMENT.

THE princes and states of Germany, assembled in diet, shall have a decisive vote in all the deliberations of the empire, especially with regard to the making of new laws, or interpreting the old, declaring war, levying troops, exacting contributions, raising subsidies in the empire, building fortresses, making peace and alliances; and their approbation shall be essentially requisite. The college of the imperial cities shall in like manner have a decisive voice.—In all deliberations upon matters which may turn to the prejudice of a state of the empire, nothing shall be decided but by way of amicable accommodation.—The Aulic council shall follow the ordinance

Public  
government of  
the empire.

nance and the procedures usual in the imperial court.— Every particular state was confirmed in the privilege of making alliances with foreign powers, provided they were not against the emperor and the empire.

Rome &  
Spain op-  
posed the  
treaty.

Such is the substance of a treaty so essential to the tranquillity of Europe, particularly to that of Germany. All the articles were guaranteed by France and Sweden. Innocent X. cancelled them by a bull; but a bull was too feeble an instrument for that purpose. Philip IV. refused to make peace, because he saw the civil war kindling in France, which he hoped to turn to his advantage.

France  
and Swe-  
den have  
establi-  
shed the  
Germanic  
privileges.

Thus was order at last established in the Germanic constitution, after thirty years of troubles and massacres. The French and Swedes may be considered as the legislators of the empire, where their arms had made so many ravages. Had it not been for them, the head could not have agreed with the members, nor the members with one another; without them the difference of religions would have been an eternal source of discords. To satisfy the Protestants at the expense of the church, was the great art of the negotiators. The Catholic princes, losing none of their domains, and gaining the advantages of liberty and peace, consented with the less difficulty to this treaty, of which Rome had reason to make bitter complaints, as they were unable to continue the war. Ferdinand III. had every thing to fear for his hereditary dominions, and necessity extorted from him a compliance. The despotism of Ferdinand II. must necessarily, sooner or later, bring on the liberty of Germany, as in every country violent disorders, sooner or later, pave the way for the restoration of order.

What  
contribut-  
ed most  
to success.

The Ger-  
manic li-  
berty lit-  
tle known  
by the  
people.

However, this Germanic liberty is for the most part a blessing enjoyed by the princes, not by the people. The ancient servitude subsists in several states of the empire: the sovereigns, though extremely jealous of maintaining their privileges against the emperours, pay  
little



little regard to the rights of humanity in the treatment of their subjects. The states are free, but the people are slaves and oppressed. There, as in other countries, the laws are frequently on the side of the strong against the weak.

## CHAP. II.

*Civil War in France against Mazarin.—Sequel of the War with Spain.*

THE negotiations of Westphalia were drawing near a conclusion, and made the French ministry respectable in the eyes of Europe, when a civil war was kindled in Paris against the king, or rather against his minister. It was impossible that a foreigner, who was master of the government, could avoid becoming an object of envy, hatred and cabals. Though cardinal Mazarin had too much address in the beginning of his ministry to copy the pomp and haughtiness of Richelieu, his fortune, his power, and the necessities of the public, furnished sufficient matter to the malecontents. The royal authority was little respected in his hands; and whether he abused it, or only seemed to abuse it, the spirit of rebellion became universal.

From the time that the wars, endlessly prolonged and multiplied, swallowed up immense sums; from the time that they were carried on with money still more than by arms; it is inconceivable that the finances should have been always neglected: as if Henry IV. and Sully had lived in another world! Far from following their system of economy, the government ruined itself while it ruined the people. Seventy five millions, to which the revenues nearly amounted, were not sufficient for the public necessities, though the state was much less in debt than it is at present; and yet the armies were not numerous.

Hatred  
against  
Cardinal  
Mazarin.

Bad state  
of the re-  
venue.

Emeri superintendant.  
Money edicts.

numerous. Emeri, an obscure Italian, rapacious and prodigal, superintendant of the finances, had recourse to money edicts; which were the more odious, as some of them were ridiculous. The money due to the magistrates was not paid, some quarters of the annuities were retrenched, murmurs broke out, the parliament made opposition, and the sedition was ready to be kindled.

Arrêt of union annulled, and the cardinal turned in to ridicule.

An *arrêt* of union between the sovereign courts of Paris, which had been just passed by the parliament, gave the minister uneasiness, and was annulled by the council. The magistrates maintaining that their union contained nothing reprehensible—*The king must be obeyed*, said Mazarin, *if he forbid wearing tassels to band strings; it is less the nature of the thing prohibited, than the prohibition, which constitutes the crime.* We would imagine that he was preaching up blind obedience to a set of monks. His absurd discourse and faulty pronunciation exposed him to the keen shafts of ridicule. He was lampooned in ballads; and the factious, joining contempt to hatred, increased in audacity.

1648.  
Occasion of the barricadoes.

The parliament, forgetting the bounds of its jurisdiction, abolished the intendants of the provinces, who were instituted by Louis XIII. and the court, being filled with indignation, resolved to strike a bold stroke. During the celebration of *Te Deum* for the victory at Lens, a president and a counsellor, who distinguished themselves in the debates, were arrested by order of the cardinal; upon which the people rose, threw chains across the streets, fired upon the chancellor's coach, formed barricadoes, killed some soldiers, and the two prisoners were restored.

The coadjutor heads the revolvers.

After the ministry gave this proof of their weakness, violent commotions were to be expected. The coadjutor to the archbishop of Paris, afterwards cardinal de Retz, a man of a restless, intriguing, seditious and libertine character, encouraged the enemies of the court, inflamed the people, drew on the parliament, and soon kindled a civil war. The *frondeurs* (that is the name

The fronde.

given

given to the rebels) forced the queen regent to retire to St. Germain with the young king. They were headed by the prince of Conti, brother of the great Condé, the dukes of Longueville, Beaufort, Vendôme, Bouillon, &c. Condé, though discontented, sided with the court, and blocked up the capital, where the parliament raised an army.

The most remarkable thing in this war is the ridicule with which it was accompanied. Every thing became a subject for jests and ballads. The women set the fashion, and played a capital part. They ordered the men to fight for or against the king. The dutchess de Longueville, sister of Condé, made a rebel of the virtuous Turenne. The duke de la Rochefoucault, celebrated for his Moral Maxims, stained his own reputation by these verses, in honour of the same princess :

Ridicule  
and gal-  
lantry in  
the civil  
war.

*Pour mériter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux yeux,  
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, je l'aurois faite aux Dieux.\**

From the time of Francis I. that spirit of frivolous gallantry had constantly influenced public affairs; and what evils must it not have produced, in proportion as the manners were enervated by effeminacy, and corrupted by avarice and prodigality!

In 1649 a seeming accommodation took place; a general amnesty was published, and the court returned to Paris. But the following year the prince of Condé, who despised the cardinal, and whose pretensions knew no bounds, was arrested, together with the prince of Conti and the duke de Longueville. Mazarin could not have struck a bolder stroke. On this occasion the people gave a remarkable proof of their natural levity, by celebrating with bonfires the imprisonment of those men whom they had honoured as their fathers and de-

1650.  
Princes  
arrested.

\* These verses, the badness of which corresponds with their impiety. may be thus translated:

To merit her heart, and to please her bright eyes,  
He revolts from his king, and his God he defies.



1651.  
Mazarin  
banished  
by the  
parlia-  
ment.

fenders. This triumph of the minister was of short duration, because his prudence forsook him. Thinking himself now secure from danger, he affronted Gaston, duke of Orleans, a man always ready to change sides; and provoked the *frondeurs*, who still breathed sedition: upon which, the parliament demanded the release of the three princes, and passed sentence of perpetual banishment against the cardinal, who went in person to discharge the illustrious prisoners, in hopes of attaching them to his interests; but received from them only marks of contempt. He then retired to Liege, and afterwards to Cologne, from whence he governed the queen regent as absolutely as if he had not quitted the court. At last Condé revolted, but Turenne was become a royalist. Thus the heroes of their country attacked and defended it alternately, as they were hurried away by a kind of infatuation, or brought back by motives of interest, or a sense of duty.

He re-  
turns,  
and a  
price is  
set upon  
his head.

Arrêt  
against  
the great  
Condé.

Mazarin, like Concini, returned into the kingdom with a small army, when the parliament fulminated against him an arrêt of proscription, and promised fifty thousand crowns for his head, taking a precedent from the sum fixed upon the head of admiral Coligni in an age of fanaticism. The madness was carried to such a pitch, that they deputed some of their body to take an information against the minister's army. By another arrêt, the prince of Condé was declared a state criminal; for contradictions spring up in multitudes, from the spirit of party and cabal. Louis XIV. being now of age, ordered the parliament to remove to Pontoise; and a few of the members obeyed, but the greater part remained. Thus there were two parliaments.

1652.  
Condé  
and Tu-  
renne op-  
posed to  
each o-  
ther.

The king, his mother, and his minister, wandered about the provinces, and had very near been seized at Gien on the Loire by the prince of Condé, who surprised the mareschal d'Hoquincourt, but they were saved by the abilities of Turenne; and the court, under the protection of its defender, took the road to Paris, where

where the battle of St. Anthony was fought in the suburb of that name. The two generals did wonders on that occasion, and victory declared for the royal army; when mademoiselle, daughter of the duke of Orleans, caused the cannon of the bastile to be fired, which forced Turenne to retreat.

As the hatred against the minister seemed implacable, the king consented to his removal, and dismissed him, after making his encomium in a declaration. The Parisians joyfully opened their gates to the sovereign, and the face of affairs was entirely changed. The duke of Orleans went to end his days in banishment. The cardinal de Retz, who had been the chief author of the disturbances, was imprisoned. Condé, being unsuccessful in his rebellion, had joined the Spaniards; but that circumstance did not in the least affect the tranquillity of Paris.

End of  
the fronde

To the storms of the *fronde* succeeded so still a calm, that, in the beginning of the year 1653, Mazarin again appeared peaceably at court, resumed all his authority, and saw himself courted by every body, even by the parliament: a conclusion worthy of an absurd war, the history of which, as was observed by Condé, after he had played his part in it, deserved only to be written in burlesque verse. The faction of that prince had been called the party of the *petits maitres*, because they wanted to make themselves masters of the state. M. Voltaire observes, that the name of *petits maitres*, now applied to overbearing and ill educated young men, and that of *frondeurs*, bestowed on the censurers of government, are the only vestiges remaining of those troubles. It is not to be doubted that the Italian minister laughed in his heart at the French giddiness, and certainly saw with pleasure a levity so favourable to his views.

Mazarin  
triumphant.

The petits  
maitres.

Weak as the Spaniards were, they had found means to turn the dissensions of France to their advantage. In 1652 they retook Barcelona, after a siege of fifteen months, wrested Casal from the duke of Savoy, gained over the duke of Mantua by reinstating him in the pos-

Advantages  
gained  
by the  
Spaniards  
during the  
civil wars.

session of that town, and stormed Gravelines and Dunkirk. The fruit of Condé's former victories was entirely lost; and he himself, being in arms against his country, would have exposed it to the greatest dangers, had not Turenne fought in its defence. These two rivals drew upon themselves the eyes of all Europe. Turenne had been beaten at Rhetel, in 1650, by the marshal du Plessis Prassin, when he fought for the Spaniards; but, in the cause of his king and of his country, he always appeared invincible.

1654. Arras saved by Turenne. He marched to the relief of Arras, which was besieged by the archduke Leopold and the prince of Condé, forced their lines, put the archduke to flight, and left Condé only the glory of making an admirable retreat. Mazarin, who was at some leagues distance, exposed himself to the greatest ridicule, by claiming the honour of that campaign.

Treaty of France with Cromwell. Cromwell, stained with the blood of Charles I. made England flourish, as we shall soon have occasion to relate. France and Spain both courted his alliance, and thus betrayed the majesty of kings to serve their own interests. The cardinal, by dint of complaisance, it may even be said meanness, succeeded in this negotiation, and concluded a treaty in 1655, on condition of causing Charles II. and the duke of York, the grandsons of Henry IV. to quit the kingdom. No notice was taken of the outcries of the Spaniards, who ought to have been silent, as they had condescended to act a similar part; and the French ministry reaped the fruits of this advantageous alliance.

Sequel of the war. Valenciennes, besieged by the marshals Turenne and la Ferté, was relieved in 1656, by the prince of Condé, in conjunction with don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV. A dyke, which served as a communication between the quarters of the two marshals, being broken, the enemy forced la Ferté's lines; but Turenne saved the army, and took Capelle some time after. In 1657 he laid siege to Cambray, which he was



was forced to raise, Condé having thrown himself into the place with eighteen squadrons.

The following campaign was decisive in favour of the French arms. The port of Dunkirk was blocked up by twenty sail of English men of war; while Turenne, who had a body of six thousand English troops in his army, invested that city: Don John and Condé marched to its relief; the marshal attacked them near Dunes, and gained a complete victory, which the prince of Condé had predicted, when he saw the bad dispositions that were made against his will. It is not to be doubted, but on that occasion his haughty soul was more than ever stung with the state of dependence to which he had been subjected by his deplorable imprudence. Dunkirk capitulated; and the English took possession of it, as had been agreed upon with Cromwell. Furnes, Dixmude, Oudenarde, Menin, Ipres, and Gravelines, successively fell into the hands of the French; and Spain, crushed by the weight of the war, turned her thoughts on peace.

1658.  
Battle of  
Dunes  
gained by  
Turenne  
taking of  
Dunkirk.

Two interesting objects present themselves, before the negotiations of the Pyrenées: Cromwell's government in England, and the abdication of the famous Christina, queen of Sweden. By placing them here, we shall follow the order of events, and avoid digressions, which, in the sequel, would have led us from our purpose:

### CH A P. III.

#### *Commonwealth of England under Cromwell.*

AT the time that the fronde was carrying on its ridiculous cabals, Charles I. was condemned by his subjects, and beheaded in 1649. (I thought it

Difference  
of the ci-  
vil war in  
France &  
England.

proper to give a continued account of his misfortunes in the preceding epocha.) The English carried on the civil war with fury; the French, with contemptible levity. The reason is, that besides their different national characters, the object and circumstances of the war were in every respect, entirely unlike. In England, the design was either utterly to destroy the regal power, or to confine its prerogative within very narrow limits; in France, the only thing wanted, was to get rid of a foreign minister, who was an object of detestation. In the one country the malecontents were transported with atrocious fanaticism; in the other, the coadjutor himself did not employ the least pretext of religion. In the first, a genius equally vast, profound, and resolute, contrived and executed their enterprises; in the second, there was no leader that had a fixed plan, or was capable of pursuing one with constancy and vigour. To bring about the revolution in England, an Oliver Cromwell was necessary; and he stood in need of fanatics animated with his own spirit.

Character  
of Crom-  
well.

This extraordinary man was born of a good family, but poor, illiterate and unpolished. After a youth of debauchery, he turned rigorous and enthusiast; and, though full of absurd and superstitious notions, possessed all the talents of a politician and general; particularly that of reading the characters of other men, inspiring them with his own passions, and making them subservient to his designs. Cromwell had been unknown till the age of forty four, when the town of Cambridge chose him for their representative in parliament. Being incapable of moderation, and a violent opponent of the royal cause, having nothing in his mouth but the devout extravagances of fanaticism, he soon procured himself a name in the sect of the puritans. His exploits, by degrees, raised him to the command of the army; and he managed men's minds with such dexterity, made such a judicious use of every opportunity, that he became the oracle and master of those

those fiery republicans, whose audacity overturned the laws as well as the throne.

After the king was beheaded, the house of commons, which consisted only of about fourscore madmen, abolished the house of peers, and declared that the monarchy no longer subsisted. Cromwell went to subdue Ireland, where the marquis of Ormond still defended the good cause. He took by assault the town of Tredagh; put the garrison, which was numerous, to the sword; and spread so great terrour and despair, that more than forty thousand Irish left their country, to enter into the service of foreign princes. That people, who, in 1646, had been stirred up by a pope's nuncio to rebel against the king, had afterwards shewn themselves sincere royalists, perhaps out of hatred to the Presbyterians.

He subdues the Irish,

Scotland was soon after subjected to the yoke. The generous marquis of Montrose, who had persisted in his fidelity to the crown, had been excommunicated in that country as a rebel to the *covenant*, afterwards hanged, and his limbs fixed up in the principal towns. Yet Charles II. the heir of his father's throne, cast himself into the arms of the Scots, because he had no other resource. He submitted to the humiliating terms imposed by their fanatical zeal; but, being more a slave than a king among them, he had scarce a shadow of authority. The parliament's forces marched against them, under the command of Cromwell. The Scots, who were intrenched on the hills, might have conquered without fighting; but their clergymen, by prophesying a more glorious victory, forced general Lesly to march down and give battle; when Cromwell routed them at the first onset; and that battle, which was fought at Dunbar, ruined the hopes of Charles. He was not in the action; for the clergy being dissatisfied with his conduct, he had been recalled from the camp, where he made himself the idol of the soldiers: (1650.)

afterwards the Scots,

Charles II. in Scotland.

Battle of Dunbar.

The



Battle of  
Worcester.

The next year, the king, being obliged to take flight, boldly passed into England, while his oppressor was completing the conquest of Scotland. He was not expected; and his adherents assembled in amazement, without having taken any precaution. Cromwell, upon this, redoubled his activity, assembled the militia, and, joining them to his troops, attacked the king in Worcester, which he forced with dreadful slaughter. The unfortunate Charles fled in disguise, concealed himself a whole day in an oak, and wandered forty days in the midst of his enemies; at least nobody had the weakness to betray him, notwithstanding so many motives to turn traitor; and he found a vessel to convey him into France (1651).

Flight of  
the king.

Cromwell general in chief.

Fairfax, the parliament's general, had resigned the command before the expedition into Scotland, making a scruple of breaking the *covenant*, that sacred league of the fanatics of both nations. The artful Cromwell, who knew him to be inflexible in his notions, affected to dissuade him warmly from his designed resignation, and had duped men of simple minds, by an hypocritical moderation. Being now invested with the generalship, and master of the army, in whom the whole power was centred, he watched the favourable moment for rising yet higher.

English commonwealth.

The English republic (for the tyrants assumed that majestic title) soon shewed herself formidable to her neighbours. She quarrelled with Holland, whose trade excited her jealousy; and, by the famous *act of navigation*, foreigners were prohibited from importing any merchandise which was not the growth of their soil, or the produce of their manufactures. This was cutting off all the branches of the Dutch trade in England, and obliging the English to cultivate maritime commerce; accordingly, nothing has more contributed to the prosperity of that nation.

Naviga-  
tion act.

War with  
Holland.

The states general fruitlessly strove to prevent a war by negotiation. It was declared; and though they had

a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, though their admirals Tromp and Ruyter performed wonders of skill and courage, the English had a clear superiority. This they owed principally to the size of the vessels built during the last reign. A strange fatality, that the tax of ship money, which was so beneficial from the application made of it by Charles, should have served as a pre-tence for the rebellion, and afterwards been a means of rendering the nation triumphant.

These advantages inspiring the parliament, they attempted to shake off the yoke of the army, and free themselves from the tyranny of Cromwell, who then displayed all the vigour of his character. Knowing that they were going to pass a vote contrary to his views, he hastened to the parliament house, followed by three hundred soldiers, insulted that assembly, and loaded it with bitter reproaches.—*Fie ! withdraw*, cried he ; *you are no longer a parliament, the Lord hath cast you off*. He made the members go out one after the other, calling them *drunkards, thieves, whoremasters, &c.* after which he locked up the house, and retired without fear. His own friends could not have believed him capable of an action so prodigiously bold ; to which nothing parallel has ever been seen (1652.)

Cromwell dissolves the parliament.

To leave the nation some shadow of liberty, he formed another parliament, composed of fanatics and the dregs of the people. This parliament, after having *sought the Lord in prayer*, fell into a fit of delirium so strong, that they declared the universities and sciences Pagan institutions, and wanted to establish the Mosaic law as the basis of the English jurisprudence ; at last they made themselves so contemptible, that Cromwell determined to dissolve them, which he did without any difficulty.

He establishes another, and dissolves it.

It was then that the council of war bestowed on him the title of protector, which had been usual in minorities, with the right of administering justice, declaring war, making peace, and concluding alliances, with a

The title of protector bestowed on him.

standing

standing army of thirty thousand men. The protector was only obliged to take the advice of a council, to assemble the parliament every three years, and to keep it assembled five full months (1653.) The English then had a master much more formidable than the last kings. The expenses of the public were enormous, and the nation murmured.

New parliament enslaved.

When the parliament met, they wanted to examine the title of protector bestowed by the council of war; but Cromwell soon forced them to acknowledge his authority, and even dissolved these rash men before the expiration of the prescribed five months (1654.)

Cromwell, while he oppressed the state, made it respected.

If the protector oppressed the state, at least he made it respected abroad. He obliged Holland to yield the vain honour of the flag, for which a bloody war had been carried on. He ordered the execution of the Portuguese ambassadour's brother, who had been guilty of a murder; and afterwards signed a treaty with the king of Portugal, upon terms advantageous to England. Being courted by the ministers of France and Spain, he declared in favour of the first of those crowns; and the English took Jamaica from the Spaniards: an acquisition of immense value, from the situation of that island, and still more from the plantations, which have enriched it even by its own products.

Conquest of Jamaica.

Blake a great man.

The following year admiral Blake burnt a Spanish fleet at the Canaries, notwithstanding the fire of a castle, and seven redoubts. A great man, and a good patriot, he served the state without loving Cromwell.—*We ought to fight for our country, said he, into whatever hands it be fallen.* He was equally esteemed by all parties, which is one of the strongest proofs of extraordinary merit.

Mazarin basely flatters Cromwell.

We have seen in what manner the protector got possession of Dunkirk. It must be added, that Louis XIV. or Mazarin, deputed to him the duke of Crequi, and the duke of Nevers, Mancini, the cardinal's nephew. This prime minister of France, in a letter quoted by Voltaire, assures Cromwell, that *he is sorry not to have it*



*in his power to pay in person the honours due to the greatest man in the world.* How low men will descend, from motives of political interest!

Cromwell, in order to rivet his power, was desirous of putting to it the seal of the laws; and his glorious <sup>A docile parliament.</sup> administration made him hope to meet with success. In 1657 he called a parliament, which he found ready to second his inclinations, after he had excluded such members as he suspected. . . The rights of the house of Stuart were immediately annulled; after which it was proposed to confer the title of king upon the protector; and that extraordinary bill being passed, by a majority of voices, commissioners were deputed to offer him the crown.

Though this was what he long had in view, yet he refused it, either from a dread of conspiracies, deference to the advice of his friends, or regard to the generous sentiments of his son in law and brother in law, who declared their resolution to throw up their employments, if he accepted the royalty. The parliament, therefore, confirmed his former title; to which they added a perpetual revenue, and the right of naming his successor. Even this parliament was dissolved, like the others, when it ceased to shew itself the slave of an ill disguised despotism.

Voltaire has made a reflection on that subject, which is, perhaps, rather ingenious than solid.—“Cromwell, an usurper, worthy of a throne, had assumed the title of protector, not that of king; because the English knew how far the regal prerogatives ought to extend, but were not acquainted with the limits of the protectoral authority.” The army, which gave him that title, detested the name of king; for what reason, then, should he have assumed it? And when the last parliament offered it to him, his confidants and relations used every imaginable argument to hinder him from accepting it. If that name tempted his pride, it would, in fact, have added nothing to his power.

But

Uneasiness and death of the prophet.

But an important spectacle, which ought to make an indelible impression on the ambitious, and at least serve as a consolation to the oppressed, is Cromwell, a prey to chagrin and the terrors to which tyranny gives birth, detested by his own daughters, dreading to be assassinated in the midst of his guards, armed with a cuirass and a number of offensive weapons, never daring to lie three nights in the same chamber. His disquiet brought on a mortal disease. In vain did he prophesy his recovery; for either he still wanted to deceive mankind, or was himself deceived by fanaticism. Having at last named his eldest son Richard to succeed him, he died, in 1658, at the age of fifty nine, the same day that he had gained the battles of Dunbar and Worcester.

Singularities of this extraordinary man.

A few features will complete the picture of this extraordinary personage. When invested with supreme power, he still preserved his austerity of manners. After sacrificing every thing to his unfeeling ambition, he was a rigid observer of justice. Though enthusiasm was the chief instrument by which he effected his designs, he laughed with the deists at the folly of the sectaries; and frequently curbed the puritans, those fanatics whose zeal had been the prime mover of the revolution. On the other side, he was in general tolerant; and even the deists, whom he styled atheists, lived in peace around him. Their number increased every day; because, unhappily, nothing is more proper to make men infidels, than the extravagances and excesses at that time so common under the name of religion. When the human mind has no rule, it avoids one rock, only to cast itself upon another.

His toleration of the deists.

The Quakers at first fanatics.

Among the sects with which England was overrun, are distinguished the Quakers, founded by George Fox, a shoemaker's apprentice. Wanting to follow the gospel literally, as has been the common madness of enthusiasts, they trampled on the rules of decorum, and the received customs of social intercourse. Every oath appeared to them criminal; they made it a point of religion

gion to use the word *thou*, when they spoke to persons of whatever rank, and refused to admit either priests or sacraments. Their name expresses the convulsions into which they threw themselves, in order to receive the holy spirit. As they forbid the use of arms, their fanaticism was the least dangerous of any. Recovered now from their delirium, they preserve the same fund of virtue and simplicity, integrity, plain dealing, mildness, patience, love of justice and peace, while they have got rid of their ridiculous practices; and perhaps the singularity of their manners contributes, in some degree, to the maintenance of their virtues; because people readily contract the vices of society when they have nothing to distinguish or separate them from the multitude. Pennsylvania, which is principally inhabited by Quakers, is the mansion of happiness.

Richard Cromwell succeeded his father without opposition, but had neither the genius nor resolution necessary for so high a station. Being a man of mild character and simple manners, upright, unambitious, and free from fanaticism, he was from the beginning the sport of factions. The parliament which he assembled began to give him uneasiness, and the army gave him more. Some of the principal officers, and even his brother in law Fleetwood, formed cabals against his authority, and tumultuously demanded the dissolution of the parliament, which had forbidden their seditious meetings. Having consented to this, through weakness, he found himself without any support, and abdicated in 1659, to live in the obscurity of peaceful retirement. His brother, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, in like manner threw up all his employments. Thus disappeared in a moment the family of that usurper, who had governed his commonwealth with the authority of a despot, and refused the title of king.

The council of war, remaining in possession of the power, and desirous of seeming to pay respect to the laws, again collected the remains of the long parliament, which

Short protectorate of Richard Cromwell, and his abdication.

The rump a shadow of a parliament.



which had been dissolved by Cromwell after the judicial murder of Charles I. This assembly, which consisted of about forty members, was so contemptible, and so contemned, that it was called the *rump*. Attempting to act with the authority of a parliament, it offended the council of war, and was at once destroyed.

Unhappy  
state of  
England.

Thus so many efforts for freedom, so many struggles against the royal prerogative, so many crimes consecrated by religious madness, so great an appearance of patriotic or republican zeal, had plunged the English nation, not only into the horrors of a civil war, but a state of dreadful slavery. After the death of the king, every thing had been managed by the power of the sword, which made the basis of the government, fettered the laws, forced them to be silent, and dishonoured the nation in the midst of its trophies. The imposts, one year with another, amounted to more than twelve millions sterling, a revenue to which the crown had never raised any thing nearly equal. Cromwell's expenses, only for spies and secret intelligence, are estimated at no less than sixty thousand pounds a year. He had left two millions of debts, though a great economist, and extremely attentive to the disposal of the public money. An army of more than fifty thousand men, whose pay was a shilling for every foot soldier, and half a crown for every horseman, devoured the vitals of the nation, in order to enslave it, instead of being its defenders. These misfortunes, almost inseparable from such a revolution, opened the eyes even of the Presbyterians, and convinced them, that to overturn the throne was to ruin the nation; they were, therefore, desirous of restoring the royal family; and the other party longed for it with still more eagerness. We shall see the new revolution brought about in 1660,

Taxes  
under  
Crom-  
well.

The peo-  
ple desire  
the re-  
storation  
of the  
royal au-  
thority.

## CH A P. IV.

*Reign and Abdication of Christina, Queen of Sweden.*

**A** YOUNG queen, fond of literature and the fine arts, sacrificing to that passion her crown, and perhaps her religion, forms a remarkable contrast with the ignorance, savage manners, violent fanaticism, and sanguinary ambition, of Cromwell. Christina, queen of Sweden, daughter and heiress of Gustavus Adolphus, the conqueror of Germany, upon that account becomes an object worthy of our curiosity. I shall, therefore, collect into a single picture the circumstances of her life that are most important to be known, with this caution, that we must not suffer ourselves to be dazzled by deceitful appearances nor suspicious encomiums. It is the province of history to pass sentence upon men, especially princes, according to the light in which their conduct appears, after a strict and impartial scrutiny.

Design of  
this chap-  
ter.

When Gustavus fell at the battle of Lutzen, in 1632, his daughter was only six years of age; and the regency of Sweden trusted the management of affairs to the chancellor Oxenstiern, a man capable of prosecuting the great designs formed by that hero. The mind of the young queen was cultivated by learned preceptors, while the Swedes, by their courage and discipline, struck terror into the imperial court. Being endowed with a penetrating genius and retentive memory, she soon appeared a prodigy; reading the Greek authors, and acquiring a knowledge of every thing, except what ought to have attached her to the duties of the crown; or, if she did learn it, no lesson was sooner forgotten.

Beginning  
of Chris-  
tina's  
reign.

The illustrious Grotius, whom we have seen persecuted in Holland, as well as Barneveldt, for the senseless controversy of the Gomarists and Arminians, not having met,

Grotius in  
France &  
in Sweden.

met, in France, with the treatment from Richelieu which he deserved, had found an honourable asylum in Sweden; and was sent, by the chancellor Oxenstiern, ambassadour to that very court where Richelieu erected himself into a despotic judge, even of genius. This was a circumstance the more mortifying to the French minister, as Grotius supported the dignity of his character with spirit. Christina reposed the same confidence in him, that had been done by the chancellor Oxenstiern: she was, above all, worthy to pay honour to literary merit.

The treaty of Westphalia hastened by the queen's passion for letters.

When she was of age to take the reins into her own hands, (her minority ended at the age of sixteen) she applied herself to business; but at last her ruling passion prevailed: letters, the arts, and every thing which gives a lustre to social life, had for her almost invincible charms. The peace of Westphalia was, at least, one happy fruit of this predilection. Oxenstiern pressed the continuation of the war; and the misunderstanding between the two Swedish plenipotentiaries retarded the conclusion of the treaty; but all delays were cut off by the queen's absolute commands.

The court filled with learned men.

This conduct was worthy of the highest commendations, had it proceeded from a desire of doing good to Europe, and particularly Sweden; but the contrary was demonstrated by experience. To enjoy repose, and give herself up to the amusements suited to her inclination, were all that Christina had at heart. Her court was filled with learned men, the greatest part of whom ought to have been left in the dust of their closet. Descartes injudiciously suffered himself to be attracted among the rest, either by the reputation of that princess, or the vanity of ranking her in the number of his disciples, where the change of life and the rigour of the climate killed him in a few months.

Descartes dies there.

The Swedes discontented with the

A warlike nation, elated by its victories, and still animated with zeal for Luther's reformation; a senate renowned for profound policy; in a word, the Swedes

in



in general were displeased at seeing the daughter of the great Gustavus disdain the cares of royalty, giving herself up to a barren philosophy, to researches of erudition, the study of the learned languages, a passion for medals, statues and pictures, interludes and magnificent festivals; and lavishing the finances on superfluities and men of mean talents. It was thought, with reason, that a taste for such things does honour to a sovereign only when he does not suffer them to come in competition with his duties, and keeps them in subordination to the essential benefit of the people.

The Swedes ardently desired that the queen would marry, and at least give an heir to the crown; but, like the famous Elizabeth of England, she was too fond of liberty to give her consent. Why did she not imitate the same Elizabeth in her application to the labours of government? She would then have been more admired for her erudition.

whims of  
the queen.

Christina  
refuses to  
marry.

Charles Gustavus, count palatine of Deux Ponts, Christina's cousin, was the husband pointed out for her by the public wishes. But being resolved to live single, she gladly named him her successor in 1650; and this step made Sweden more easy. That prince politically kept at a distance from court, and from business; dissembling his ambition for the throne, yet gaining the affections of the people, to make them wish for his reign. Christina, being again solicited to marry, declared to the senate, in 1651, a resolution to abdicate the crown; but it is difficult to believe this declaration sincere; and the senators, from a dread lest they should fall into some mistake, conjured her to relinquish that design; she yielded to their entreaties, upon condition that she should no longer be pressed to marry. In a conjuncture so critical, Charles Gustavus acted with as great reserve as the senate.

She names  
the count  
palatine  
for her  
successor.

Notwithstanding the masculine spirit and character of the queen, she had a tincture of sickleness and caprice. Michon, a French physician, (who took the name

Michon &  
Pimentel  
favourites  
of Christ-  
tina.

name of Bourdelot, because his uncle, by the mother's side, who bore that name, was known in the class of literati) gained her whole confidence to such a degree, that he made her lose her relish for study. Pimentel, the Spanish minister, having wormed out this odious favourite, in his turn enjoyed the greatest share of her good graces, and revived the passion for letters, by extolling her genius in the most flattering strains. An ambassadour from Cromwell, negotiating with Sweden, complained, that in his audiences he could hear of nothing but philosophy and interludes. France, and even Sweden, took so great umbrage at Pimentel's credit, that at last he was discharged.

She abdicates in disgust in 1654.

Wearied more than ever with business, sighing for the pleasure of living at liberty with learned men, a prey to the melancholy produced by the disgust and necessity of discharging her duties, thinking, to use her own expression, that *she saw the devil* when her secretaries came into her presence with their papers, Christina resumed in earnest her project of abdication, and declared that resolution at the opening of the assembly of the states at Upsal, in 1654; to which they gave their consent, after a slight opposition for the sake of decorum. They secured to her a revenue on some domains of which she could not obtain the sovereignty. Charles Gustavus refused to reign without enjoying the full rights of the crown, and he found means to gain it without incurring the suspicion of ingratitude.

Her letter to Chanut, the French ambassadour.

"I give myself no uneasiness about the plaudite," said Christina, in her letter to the French ambassadour Chanut.—"It is seldom that a manly and vigorous design can please every body; I shall be satisfied with the approbation of a single person, and even that I am willing to forego. What pleasure will it be to reflect that I have done good to mankind!" Why then, says M. d'Alembert, in his *Miscellanies*, would she cease to do it? That philosopher seems to have formed a just estimate of this princess, who has been too

too much extolled, either by declaiming panegyrist or men of genius, who have considered her only in one point of view.

In a letter to the prince of Condé she said—"I will never stain an action, which appeared to me so noble, by a mean regret; and if it should meet with your disapprobation, I will alledge, as the only excuse, that I would never have resigned the gifts which fortune bestowed on me, had I thought them necessary to my happiness; and that I would have aspired to the empire of the world, had I been equally sure of succeeding, or dying in the attempt, as the great Condé."

Another letter to the great Condé.

When M. Voltaire quoted this letter, he might have observed, that she, notwithstanding, did repent; that she wished to reascend the throne; and that the extravagant idea of *the empire of the world* is far from being consistent with the abdication. She preferred living with men who could think, says that celebrated historian, to the government of a people without literature, and void of genius. But is there any thing more worthy of a great soul, than giving happiness to a people? And were the literati, in quest of whom Christina travelled so far, much greater proficient in thinking than the Swedes? The medal which she caused to be struck with this inscription—*Parnassus excels the throne*—shews a love for letters, but not a love of mankind. Let us follow her to her Parnassus.

Her sentiments unworthy of commendation.

After stripping the palace of all the most valuable effects, she set out in man's apparel; and when she arrived on the borders of Denmark, cried out—*Now at last I am free and out of Sweden, in which I hope that I shall never more set my foot*; an expression that indicates ill humour. She embraced the Catholic religion at Brussels, and solemnly abjured Lutheranism at Inspruck. The Catholics would have had less reason to triumph on account of this change of profession, had they reflected on the passion which drew her to Rome, the centre of the fine arts, and the place where she designed

Her departure and abjuration.



to fix her residence. The Protestants accused her of acting only on worldly motives. Perhaps party spirit influenced the judgment of both sides ; and party spirit ordinarily judgeth ill.

Her two  
journeys  
into  
France.

Rome did not so charm Christina as to prevent a desire of seeing, or being seen, in France ; to which she took a journey in 1656. Not being much relished at the gallant court of Louis XIV. she visited the literati of Paris ; but the person whom she most distinguished was Menage, who at present is hardly known, except by name. Scarcely was she returned to Rome, when she wished again to be in France, to which she paid a second visit in 1657 ; when she dishonoured herself by the murder of Monaldeschi, her master of the horse, whom she caused to be assassinated in the gallery at Fontainebleau, probably in a fit of jealousy upon account of an intrigue. Being looked upon with abhorrence by the French, after this infamous action, which yet found apologists, Christina returned to Rome to admire antiques and statues.

Murder  
of her  
grand  
equerry.

Her two  
journeys  
into Swe-  
den.

Charles X. her successor, dying in 1660, after a series of ruinous wars with Poland and Denmark, she took a journey into her old kingdom, with a desire to remount the throne. But the Swedes obliged her to make another solemn renunciation. Some years after she again travelled into Sweden ; and having met with no better success, went back to Rome, where she died in 1689. So frequent changes of place prove, that, with a good share of wit and learning, she had been mistaken in seeking happiness out of her own sphere.

She was  
not much  
respected  
at Rome.

Being a queen without dominions, little respect was paid to her in a capital where the value of every thing is fixed by politics or interest ; she even had not sufficient freedom to express herself, without disguise, on the motion of the earth round the sun ; on the contrary, she there maintained the pope's infallibility with all the zeal of a theologian, though she was candid enough to blame the persecutions inflicted on the Calvinists in France.

## CHAP. V.

*Peace of the Pyrenées in 1659, and of Oliva in 1660.—  
Restoration of the English Monarchy.—Death of Cardinal Mazarin.*

THE decline of the Austrian power gave France a superiority, which from this period will produce the most memorable events. The death of the emperor Ferdinand III. in 1657, was followed by an interregnum in the empire, which lasted fifteen months. His eldest son, whom he had caused to be elected king of the Romans, was dead; and his other son Leopold, king of Hungary and Bohemia, found a competitor in Louis XIV. Four electors at first destined the crown to that monarch. Had Mazarin succeeded in the negotiation, what would have become of Germany? But the other electors making a warm opposition, the elector of Bavaria was proposed, and France offered to support him. However, that prince refused: his mother, who was sister to Ferdinand III. prevailed on him to make this generous sacrifice in favour of the house of Austria. The diet was so disturbed by factions, that there was every appearance of a schism.

Interregnum after the death of Ferdinand III.

Louis XIV. a competitor for the empire.

At last Leopold was elected in 1658, to which the French ambassadours consented, after causing him to be subjected to the hardest conditions; for he was obliged not to take any share in the war between France and Spain, not even in quality of duke of Austria. The fear of again falling under a despotic government, wrought with irresistible influence on distrustful minds. It produced the alliance of the Rhine, between the three ecclesiastical electors, the bishop of Munster, the palatine of Neuburgh, the dukes of Brunswick Lunenburgh, with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on one part, and

Election of Leopold.

Alliance of the Rhine.

Sweden on the other, inviolably to maintain the treaty of Westphalia. France soon acceded to that league ; but the elector of Treves and the bishop of Munster separated from it, because it was condemned by the court of Rome. Ought they not to have foreseen this, when they entered into their contract ? The alliance of the Rhine was renewed several times till 1666 ; by which means France almost governed the empire. Yet Leopold, who was a wise and circumspect prince, necessarily acquired, by degrees, a considerable share of authority during a reign which lasted forty seven years.

Negotiations for a peace with Spain.

We have seen Spain, by her obstinate continuance of the war, lose the advantages she had reaped from the cabals of the fronde ; obliged to oppose the united efforts of France, England, and Portugal ; and at last vanquished on every side, in 1658. Two years before, Mazarin had made an overture for peace to Philip IV. by proposing a match between the infanta Maria Theresia and Louis ; but Philip, being then without an heir male that had any probability of coming to the succession, designed his daughter for the archduke Leopold, and therefore refused the offer. After the battle of Dunes, the same motive no longer subsisting, and besides, the war being become unsupportable, the infanta was promised to the king ; and the negotiations were renewed in the Isle of Pheasants, situated on the frontiers of the two kingdoms.

1659.  
Mazarin and de Haro in the Isle of Pheasants.

There cardinal Mazarin displayed his whole address. Don Louis de Haro, the Spanish minister, in treating with him, suspected him every moment of a design to deceive, and opposed to him the delays of distrust. Accordingly, it was three months before the negotiation was concluded. The ceremonial alone took up a vast deal of time ; as if the purpose of the meeting had been to settle the rights of precedence, not to conclude peace between states. Notwithstanding the artifices of Mazarin, the Spaniard obtained an entire equality.



The principal articles of this treaty were, that the Treaty of the Pyrenées. infanta should be given to Louis XIV. with a portion of five hundred thousand gold crowns, (two millions five hundred thousand livres) and that princeſs obliged to renounce the rights which ſhe might one day have to the crown of Spain. Several towns to be reſtored on both ſides; but France to keep the territory of Rouſſillon, and part of Artois. The prince of Condé to be re-eſta bliſhed, and received into favour. Mazarin did not conſent to this article, till after much oppoſition; he dreaded that Spain would grant the prince ſome towns in the Low Countries. Charles IV. to be again put in poſſeſſion of his dominions, on condition of his keeping on foot no army, and that the town of Nanci ſhould be diſmantled. This fickle prince had equally irritated both crowns.

Mazarin had, for a long time, projected the marriage of the infanta, as a great ſtroke of politics; foreſeeing that renunciations would be uſeleſs, if the ſucceſſion ſhould be open; which was likewiſe done by Philip IV. and his miniſter; but there was no appearance of Spain's being in want of heirs. Marriage of the infanta, which produced important conſe- quences.

The war was ended in the ſouth of Europe by the treaty of the Pyrenées; and peace was reſtored to the north by the treaty of Oliva, concluded the year following. The pretenſions of Caſimir, king of Poland, upon Sweden, after the abdication of Chriſtina, had kindled a bloody war. Charles X. in imitation of the great Guſtavus, firſt conquered Poland; but again loſt it, and was unſucceſſful in Denmark: vexation for theſe miſfortunes had, a little before this period, put an end to his life. The negotiations were already begun, under the mediation of France, and the treaty at laſt concluded, by which Caſimir gave up his pretenſions. The northern part of Livonia and Eſthonia were yielded to Sweden, and the reſtored Po liſh Pruffia. Some days after, another treaty was ſigned at Copenhagen, by which Frederic III. king of Denmark, made conſiderable ſacrifices to Sweden. 1660. Treaty of Oliva, after the death of Charles X.

But,

Absolute  
power  
granted to  
the king  
of Den-  
mark,  
Frederic  
III.

But, on the other hand, that prince gained more in his own kingdom than he could have done by conquests, if the happiness of sovereigns is to be estimated by the degree of power which they have over their subjects. The valour with which he had defended Copenhagen against Charles X. gained him the affection of the nation, at the same time that they detested the injustice of the nobility and the senate, whose power was become tyrannical; for they threw the burden of the taxes on the commons. To avenge themselves of those oppressors, they sacrificed the national liberty to the king. The assembly of the states, in 1660, made the crown entirely hereditary in the house of Frederic, and conferred upon him absolute authority, without its being in the power of the nobility to make an opposition.

That  
power  
employed  
with pru-  
dence.

It is a thing no less surprising, that the kings of Denmark, though armed with arbitrary power, have used it with prudence and moderation. So much are governments restrained by the manners and customs of a brave people. What other cause can be assigned, or even imagined, for this wonderful fact in a succession of six kings? We shall see Sweden take nearly the same step in 1680, but, repenting of it, resume her liberty after the death of Charles XII. and establish a new government, which she again changed. A single circumstance may make an universal alteration in political order.

Sudden  
revolution  
in Eng-  
land.

The sudden revolution in favour of monarchy, which happened in England, was brought about the same year with that of Denmark. There are few events equally extraordinary. During the negotiations of the treaty of the Pyrenées, Charles II. a fugitive, and destitute of resource, came to Fontarabia to solicit the protection of the two crowns; but they neither deigned to listen to him, nor to mention his name. He had lost all hope, yet his misfortunes were on the point of being brought to a period.

The coun-  
cil of war  
had seiz-

After Richard Cromwell's abdication, the council of war, as I have mentioned elsewhere, assumed an absolute

lute authority, and assembled the *rump*, to serve as a cover for their tyranny; but soon after turned out that phantom of a parliament. Lambert, by his ambition and boldness, played in the army the same part which had raised Cromwell to the supreme power. But the body of the nation sighed for the restoration of the monarchy, the plan of which a great man formed in secret, and suddenly executed.

ed the government.

George Monk, a celebrated general, virtuous patriot, and wise politician, was governour of Scotland, and declared in favour of the parliament which was driven out by Lambert. On this news England was thrown into commotion, even whole regiments revolted against the army; the rump reassembled, gave orders, and was obeyed; and Lambert, abandoned by his soldiers, could not defend himself. Monk arrived without disclosing his intentions to any one. He appeared submissive to the parliament, and entered London by their orders. But, joining the city against that odious and contemptible body, he openly reproached them with their tyrannical conduct; and the members that were formerly excluded having been invited to return, those of the rump retired filled with shame, and a free parliament was called to remedy the evils of the state. Thus every thing took the most happy turn, and no blood was spilt.

Monk causes a free parliament to be assembled.

Scarcely was the parliament assembled, when an envoy from the king presented himself, and gave in a declaration, by which Charles granted an indemnity to all persons except those whom the parliament should be pleased to pitch upon; promising, besides, full liberty of conscience, and engaging to pay the troops their arrears. Then was the proper time to have fixed the respective rights of the nation and the crown; a measure which every thing seemed to require, after such murderous dissensions; but nothing of this was done. It was believed that the concessions made by Charles I. would sufficiently limit the royal authority; or the people

Restoration of the monarchy.



people blindly gave themselves up to the desire of being under a lawful government. Charles II. was proclaimed, and received with transports of joy, in 1660.

Charles II. ascends the throne.

Trial of some republicans.

That prince, who was then thirty years of age, mild, amiable, and of a good understanding, might have made himself the idol of his people : adversity, more proper to form the mind of a sovereign than any other kind of instruction, had given him practical lessons, the use of which is unknown in the pomp and luxury of courts. His clemency saved a multitude of criminals, whom the parliament was desirous of excepting from the indemnity. Only Vane and Lambert, two furious republicans, were excluded from taking the benefit of it, together with the parricide judges who had condemned the late king. The execution of eleven persons was reckoned sufficient expiation for the guilt of so many crimes. These criminals signalized their fanaticism to the last, maintained that they had acted by the impulse of the holy spirit, and thought themselves martyrs.

Every thing settled according to the pleasure of the king.

The parliament settled on the crown a revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds. The troops were paid and discharged ; and only five thousand men, with some garrisons, were retained of that dangerous army. This is the first instance of standing forces being kept by the kings of England ; and if the people look upon it as an encroachment on their liberties, ought they not to ascribe it to the example of Cromwell ? Charles restored episcopacy even in Scotland ; for the Scotch parliament was equally complaisant with the English. The covenant was annulled ; and what appeared just and sacred in the time of the commonwealth, was then deemed worthy of condemnation. Nothing was more difficult than to hold the balance between sects always at variance, always obstinate. The Presbyterians soon met with severities sufficient to exasperate them ; consequently the seeds of discord still subsisted, and we shall see them produce pernicious fruits.

Charles

Charles was exposed to misfortunes or vexation by two great faults in his character: he was too fond of pleasure, and had no economy. His excessive love of pleasure was inconsistent with the cares of government; and, besides, what vices must it not implant in the court? His want of economy was the more dangerous, as the expenses of the crown exceeded the revenue, however liberal the parliament at first appeared. Accordingly, after dissipating the portion of his wife, Catharine of Portugal, and two hundred thousand crowns which had been given him by France, he sold Dunkirk to Louis XIV. in 1662, for five millions of livres, at twenty six livres ten sous the mark of silver. Notwithstanding the prodigious expense of maintaining the garrison, all England murmured at the sale of that place, the acquisition of which was a great advantage to France.\*

Two great faults in Charles.

He sells Dunkirk through want of economy.

Mazarin was not then alive. He died in 1661, as absolute master of the state as Richelieu had been, displaying the same pomp, though he had at first put on an appearance of modesty; and leaving to his heirs an immense fortune, accumulated by methods which exposed him to just reproaches. He had married two of his nieces (Martinozzi) to the prince of Conti and the duke of Modena. His five other nieces (Mancini) were married, one to the marquis of Meillerai, who was duke de Mazarin; another to the count de Soissons of the house of Savoy, father of the famous prince Eugene; the third to the duke de Vendôme, afterwards cardinal; the fourth (whom the king wanted to espouse) to the constable Colonna; and the youngest to the duke de Bouillon. Mancini, the minister's nephew, was duke of Nevers.

1661.  
Death of Mazarin: Settlement of his family.

Such great establishments must doubtless appear burdensome to the nation. Mazarin had not, any more than Richelieu, done France sufficient service to make her think it a happiness to enrich him and his family. But

He gained the greatest reputation by his treaties of peace.

\* Price of Dunkirk 400,000*l*.

But it would be unjust to refuse him the eulogiums he deserves for the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenées; the title of peace maker is so glorious! and the wars put an end to by these treaties, had caused so many miseries, devastations and massacres!

Whether  
great ta-  
lents be  
necessary  
for a mi-  
nister.

"When we read the letters of cardinal Mazarin," says M. de Voltaire, "and the memoirs of cardinal de Retz, we clearly perceive that Retz was the superiour genius; yet Mazarin was all powerful, and Retz was ruined. To make a powerful minister, commonly nothing more is requisite than good sense and good fortune; but to be a good minister, the ruling passion must be the good of the public." These reflections seem to confirm what chancellor Oxenstiern said, in a letter to his son—*Don't you know how small a matter the secret of governing the world amounts to?* Yet a Sulli will always be a prodigy; and whoever will, like him, secure the public weal, even though he may have some other ruling passion, will find a place among the great men.

## C H A P. VI.

*Louis XIV. makes himself respected abroad, and puts his kingdom in a flourishing state.—Affairs of Europe till 1667.*

1661.  
Louis  
seemed ill  
qualified  
for the  
govern-  
ment;

IT was not imagined that Louis XIV. would assume the reins of government, after the death of a minister whom he had permitted to hold them with absolute authority. Ill educated, ignorant, addicted to pleasure, kept at a distance from business by the ambition of Mazarin, with scarcely any idea of the art of government; at a time of life when most men are enslaved and blinded by their passions; and the more obnoxious to fall into weakneses, as, at the age of twenty two, he

was



was assailed by all the seductions of grandeur ; it seemed impossible that he should not imitate the great numbers of princes who have suffered their ministers to reign in their name, and, reserving to themselves only the pleasures and honours of the throne, thrown all its burdensome duties upon others, who seldom discharged them to the advantage of their masters.

But that young king had an elevated and ambitious soul, a thirst for glory, and a fondness for dominion. yet he assumes it. Though submissive to Mazarin from habit, he had borne the yoke with secret impatience ; and, the moment that he saw himself freed from it, declared his resolution to take the reins into his own hands, and put it in practice. If he had frequently been misled by the cardinal, that minister had at least inspired him with confidence for Colbert, one of the greatest statesmen that the kingdom has produced. Fouquet, superintendent of the finances, who dissipated the public money, was disgraced and imprisoned, after a sumptuous entertainment which he gave the king at Vaux, (now Villars) a pleasure house, which it is said cost him eighteen millions of the then current money. Colbert succeeds Fouquet in the management of the finances. His successor, Colbert, had only the title of comptroller general. In his hands the finances became a source of prosperity and splendour.

With better principles of morality and politics, with more just ideas of the true glory of sovereigns, Louis XIV. aided by Colbert, might have made France the most flourishing kingdom in the world ; and would not have drawn upon himself so many wars, which were much less glorious than hurtful. Two occasions immediately presented themselves, in which he shewed a vanity or haughtiness which gave a bad prognostic of the future ; and by which he made himself feared, but at the same time hated. Faults of the king.

A dispute on precedence happening between his ambassador and that of Spain, at London, furnished the first occasion. The Frenchman having been insulted by He forces Spain to acknowledge the superiority.

ty of his  
crown.

by the Spaniard in the open street, a reparation for that outrage became necessary; and Louis threatened his father in law, Philip IV. to renew the war, unless the superiority of his crown was acknowledged. But this was too much for a point of honour. Is the blood of nations then so trivial a matter, that it may be shed unnecessarily? Philip humbled himself, because he could do no better; recalled and punished his ambassador, and sent the count de Fuentes to Fontainebleau, to declare, in presence of all the foreign ambassadors, that the Spanish ministers should no more dispute the precedence with those of France; yet they afterwards had an equality at Nimeguen and Ryswick.

1662.  
Affair of  
the duke  
de Crequi  
at Rome.

The second affair made the more noise, as it interested the court of Rome. The duke de Crequi, ambassador of Louis XIV. behaved with a haughtiness which made him odious; and his domestics, in imitation of their master, acted with the most unbridled licentiousness. Some of them having attacked the Corsican guard, which was principally employed in supporting the execution of justice, that corps rose in a tumult, fired upon the coach of the ambassador, and killed one of her pages. Upon this the duke of Crequi quitted Rome, accusing the brother of pope Alexander VII. (Chigi) as the instigator of the murderers; and the king demanded a satisfaction proportioned to the injury.

Humilia-  
tion of  
the pope.

The pope in vain endeavoured to gain time, and flattered himself with the hopes of quashing the affair by the Roman policy, when he received advice that the French troops had already entered Italy on their way to besiege Rome. No power dared to make the least motion in his favour; Avignon was in the hands of the king, and the thunders of the Vatican would only have served to increase the mischief; so greatly were men's opinions changed in the course of a century. Alexander was therefore obliged to humble himself still more than Philip IV. In consequence of the treaty of Pisa, cardinal Chigi, his nephew, came, in quality of legate,

Treaty of  
Pisa in  
1664.

to

to give the satisfaction which Louis required. This was, in some measure, making amends for the despotic acts of violence committed by the ancient legates. The Corsicans were discharged; a pyramid was erected at Rome in memory of the event; and, besides, it was stipulated, that the pope should restore Castro and Ronciglione to the duke of Parma for a sum payable in eight years: he was likewise to indemnify the duke of Modena for Comacchio.

These acts of vigour, the examples of which were before his time so seldom seen, declared what Europe had to dread from an imperious monarch, powerful, young, and in a condition to execute the greatest enterprises. He extended his views with his power; he wanted to domineer, and took the proper measures for gratifying his desire.

Europe  
had rea-  
son to  
dread  
Louis.

Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, by an incomprehensible treaty, which was registered in the parliament, had a little before made him heir to his dominions, on condition that the princes of the blood of Lorrain should be declared princes of the blood of France. A clause in the registration bore, that the signature of all the parties concerned should be necessary; which hindered the treaty from taking effect. Whether it proceeded from a new piece of inconstancy in Charles, or precaution and impetuosity in Louis, a French army marched into Lorrain; and the duke, by a new treaty, gave up the important city of Marsal (1663).

Singular  
treaty  
with the  
duke of  
Lorrain.

The French then laboured to make Dunkirk, which had been purchased from the king of England, a bulwark of France, and a port formidable to the English; and thirty thousand men were employed in constructing that great work, which the fortune of war at last obliged Louis to throw down with his own hands.

Works at  
Dunkirk.

At the same time he sent succours to Leopold against the Turks, who, after having overrun Transilvania, and ravaged Moravia, threatened Hungary with an invasion. Six thousand French joined the imperial troops, and

Succours  
given to  
Leopold  
against the  
Turks.

greatly



greatly contributed to the victory of St. Gothard on the Raab, where the enemy were defeated. The more praise the French deserved, the more was it dreaded that France should acquire too great power in Germany. Besides, the disorder in the revenue made an accommodation necessary. Leopold therefore concluded a peace or truce with the vanquished for twenty years, and left the prince of Transylvania their tributary; (1664) a humiliating treaty to the court of Vienna!

Succours  
given to  
Portugal  
against  
Spain.

Louis made almost every power in Europe feel his grandeur. He had some reasons of complaint against Spain; and policy invited him to assist Portugal, which was still attacked by that power. Marechal Schomberg, therefore, led into that country four thousand men, apparently in the pay of the king of Portugal, Alphonso VI. son of the fortunate John IV. Those troops enabled the Portuguese to gain a decisive battle at Estremos, followed by another at Villaviciosa, in 1665; and from that time the family of Braganza was firmly established on the throne, which had been disputed with them.

War be-  
tween En-  
gland and  
Holland.

A new war, kindled between England and Holland, necessarily interested a monarch so attentive to the motions of Europe, and so much occupied with great designs. The English, rather from jealousy than good reasons, broke with a republic which rivalled them in trade. The house of commons was desirous of a war, and Charles II. undertook it; when they granted him a subsidy, greater than any that had been ever before voted, of about two millions and a half sterling. The grand pensionary John de Wit, not being able to avert the storm, opposed it with forces and a resolution worthy of respect. The sea was covered with the ships of the two nations. The English fleet, commanded by the duke of York, consisted of one hundred and fourteen sail, and had twenty two thousand men on board. It gained a victory in 1665; but de Wit soon repaired that misfortune.

Louis

Louis had declared for Holland. Colbert had begun to restore, or rather to create, a navy; and the duke de Beaufort commanded a squadron of forty sail, but could not join the Dutch, who notwithstanding gained some advantage in a dreadful engagement, which lasted four days. The English afterwards defeated Ruyter, who, making a glorious retreat, lamented that he had escaped so many cannon balls. England soon perceived, that she was ruining herself to no purpose; and that Holland, by her riches, which were fruits of economy, was capable of supporting the war a longer time. More than one hundred thousand men had lost their lives in London by the plague. A fire consumed above thirteen thousand houses in that city; for it was almost entirely built of wood. In the midst of so many calamities, the rage of war relaxed. Negotiations were carried on at Breda, during which Ruyter burnt some ships in the Thames. At last peace was concluded in 1667. By the treaty of Breda, Newyork was secured to the English, the isle of Poleron in the East Indies to the Dutch, and Acadia to the French.

Louis on  
the side  
of the  
Dutch.  
French  
navy.

Calami-  
ties in  
England.

Treaty of  
Breda.

The people, above all a free and turbulent people, are for the most part unjust enough to impute to their governours the misfortunes for which they are least answerable. Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, chancellor of England, an able, virtuous and incorruptible minister, in the midst of a very corrupt court, was the object and victim of the popular odium, because that war had been unsuccessful, though it was undertaken even against his advice. Charles II. finding in him the austerity of a sage, and not the complaisance of a flatterer, withdrew his affection, was uneasy at his presence, and deprived him of the seals. He was impeached in parliament, chiefly as having advised the sale of Dunkirk; an imaginary crime, unless we will call by that name every imprudent advice. Sentence of banishment being passed against Clarendon, he was obliged to quit England, and settled in France; where he composed

Claren-  
don un-  
justly sa-  
crificed by  
Charles II.

composed a work worthy of immortality; the history of the last civil wars in his own country.

Advantages of the French government over the English at that time.

Nothing can be a clearer proof of the advantages attendant on a firm and absolute government, when it is directed to the public good, (which, it must be owned, is too seldom the case) than the contrast of France with England at the period to which we are now come. Charles, voluptuous and prodigal, brought himself, by his dissipation, into a state of dependence on his parliament, by whose economy and authority he was prevented from doing all the good which he might have done. Louis aspired to the performance of great actions; and having all the means at his disposal, though he bestowed a great deal on magnificence and pleasures, yet made his kingdom flourish. Clarendon had advised the sale of Dunkirk, for want of resources proportioned to the necessities of the crown; Colbert had at once enriched the sovereign and the nation, in such a manner that he could join splendour to utility. Perhaps he would have surpassed Sully, had the king been less fond of war and magnificence.

Colbert recovers the finances.

From the time of Henry IV. the finances languished in a most ruinous condition; nor could they be recovered but by punishing the depredations, reforming a multitude of abuses that had been authorized, and returning the purchase money to those who had bought annuities at a low price. These novelties met with opposition from the parliament; but the king spoke in the tone of a master, and made himself obeyed. The unwarrantable behaviour of the fronde had irritated him against a body of magistrates, who sometimes, transgressing the proper bounds, gave room to forget their former services. In 1655, Louis had appeared in the sanctuary of justice, dressed in boots, with a whip in his hand, in order to break up a meeting. He was not then acquainted with what decency prescribes to the sovereign. In 1664 he went, in a manner suitable to his dignity, to cause his edicts to be registered. Being teased with re-

The parliament forced to obey.

monstrances,



monstrances, in 1667 he prohibited any more to be presented before the registration. The remonstrances then ceased; the royal authority was exercised with the greatest vigour and promptitude: but if the government committed a mistake, and injured the laws of the people, who could prevent the mischief by carrying truth to the foot of the throne?

It is certain that Colbert lightened the burdens of the people, and considerably augmented the receipts. The protection granted to trade was a source of riches to the state. Dunkirk and Marseilles, being declared free ports, were crowded with vessels and merchandise. The India company, established in 1664, had too great success to suffer men to foresee the inconveniences which it would one day produce. The manufactures of looking glass, fine cloths, rich stuffs, and beautiful tapestries, rose in a little time, and were soon carried to a great height. Wonders were produced by the French industry, the moment that it was encouraged; and all nations, in a manner, became its tributaries. Circulation sensibly increased. Colbert reduced interest to five *per cent.* in 1665; Sulli had reduced it to six and a quarter; Richelieu to five and five ninths. Some able reasoners maintain, at present, that it would be better to leave it entirely free.

According to the author of the Age of Louis XIV. "The minister, Colbert, did not all that he could have done, still less all that he would have done. Men were not at that time sufficiently enlightened, and in a great kingdom there are always great abuses. The arbitrary taille, the multiplicity of duties, the customs on the export and import from one province to another, which produces an estrangement, and even enmity, between different parts of France, the inequality of measures in the several towns, and a thousand other distempers of the body politic, still subsisted. The greatest fault objected to this minister is, that he did not dare to encourage the exportation of corn.

Com-  
merce  
flourish-  
ing.

Abuses  
which  
Colbert  
could not  
reform.

Exporta-  
tion of  
corn.

"All the other branches of administration being in a flourishing condition prevented Colbert from remedying the fault in that which was most important. . . . This fault, which has been perceived by all men of abilities in the nation, has not been repaired by any minister in the course of a whole century, till the memorable epocha of 1764." (Ch. 30.)

Questions  
on that  
subject.

Why has that epocha of the liberty to export grain been hitherto productive of no good effect? Why have the people suffered so much? Why has the exportation been since prohibited? Must it be attributed to bad crops, punishable artifices, or some imperfection in the law? These are points which it is not my province to decide. But fact demonstrates, that the finest speculations do not secure success, unless every contingency has been foreseen, and a remedy provided beforehand for every possible inconvenience. It is important to reason well, but still more to act well.

Public  
works.

With a good administration, Louis XIV. saw himself immediately in a condition both to imprint respect on foreign nations, and bring every thing to perfection in his own kingdom. He not only embellished the capital, which was magnificently paved and lighted, but provided for the security of the inhabitants by a police, of which there was no example in any other country. The appearance of the provinces was changed by the construction of highways and useful works. In 1664 was begun the canal of Languedock, which joins the two seas, though separated by a chain of mountains. How glorious it is thus to conquer nature, and force it to contribute to the happiness of a nation!

Legisla-  
tion cor-  
rected,  
but im-  
perfectly.

A more important object than all the rest was the administration of justice. There was a council established in 1666 for the reformation of the laws. In 1667 appeared the civil ordinance. The code of the waters and forests, the criminal ordinance, &c. followed in succession. Duels, which were severely prohibited, became less frequent every day. A number of pernicious abuses

abuses were rectified. If many others still remained, the reason was, that a Gothic system of legislation, in a manner the child of chance, accidents, and ancient barbarism, almost void of rational uniform principles, ought rather to have been entirely new moulded (had such a thing been possible) than corrected in some particular points. No human work requires so great genius, knowledge, experience, and prudence. Even the laws of England still abound with abuses, which liberty has not been able to destroy.

The views of the legislator were seconded by establishments calculated to strengthen the understanding, and, in progress of time, to eradicate all prejudices. He had founded the academy of belles lettres and inscriptions in 1663. That of the sciences was instituted in 1666. The royal society of London had been established six years before; and the taste for the belles lettres did not permit the French to equal it in that age, though they had some respectable natural philosophers and mathematicians. The pensions and gratifications bestowed upon learned men, even of foreign nations, already made the name of Louis be celebrated in the warmest strains through all Europe.

Academies.

Recompenses to the literati.

His court was soon adorned by the muses and arts. His splendid festivals united the charms of wit to every imaginable display of magnificence; they drew together a prodigious concourse of admirers; and the curious from every country defrayed part of their expense by the money which they circulated in the kingdom. At that of Versailles, in 1664, first appeared the comedy of Tartuffe, the masterpiece of Moliere, which a cabal of devotees in vain struggled to suppress. Racine and Boileau in a short time displayed their talents. Genius was roused by every incitement. But it must be allowed, that its just expressions of gratitude were sometimes tarnished by adulation. Louis loved to be flattered with delicacy: that art was therefore cultivated too successfully, and its fruits became poisonous.

Festivals at Versailles.

Great poets.



Louis, being flattered, naturally committed faults.

Being admired or praised for all his enterprises, actions, proceedings and notions, the monarch could not keep a just medium : if he could, he would have been really worthy of those high encomiums. Versailles absorbed his riches ; and afterwards the passion for glory and conquests drew him into still more enormous expenses. Colbert himself could not supply them, without departing from those principles of administration which form the basis of the public weal.

## EPOCH A OF LOUIS XIV.

## BOOK II.

[From the War in 1667 to that of 1688, after the League of Augsburgh.]

## C H A P. I.

*Conquest of Flanders and Franche Comté.—Triple Alliance.—Peace of Aix la Chapelle.—Siege of Candia by the Turks.*

**P**HILIP IV. king of Spain, had departed this life in 1665; a prince who, though endowed with abilities and virtues, seemed to hasten the ruin of the monarchy, because addicted to pleasure, and averse from every kind of business; governed by his ministers or flatterers; neither doing nor seeing any thing by himself; lulling his subjects into a deadly lethargy, instead of rousing their courage and genius; and remedying none of the faults of government, he made them almost incurable, and increased their number. Don Louis de Haro, an estimable minister and favourite, dying in 1661, no man had been found worthy to fill his place.

Philip IV.  
had governed  
Spain ill.

Charles II. a prince only four years of age, and of a weakly constitution, succeeded to the throne of his father. The queen regent, Mary Anne of Austria, persecuted don John, natural son of the late king, who was the only person capable of governing; and blindly followed the prejudices of father Nitard, a German Jesuit, whom she put at the head of the council, after making him grand inquisitor. The arrogance of that Jesuit is universally known by his reply to a grandee, who spoke to him in the style of a superiour—*It is you who ought to*

Beginning  
of the  
reign of  
Charles  
II.

Father  
Nitard  
master of  
the go-  
vernment.

pay

*pay respect to me; for I have every day your God in my hands, and your queen at my feet.* How important is it for princes not to confound the secrets of their conscience with the affairs of state! Under such a minister, every thing inevitably grew worse; and we shall see that the enemy took advantage of it.

Pretensions of Louis XIV. on Brabant.

Though, by the treaty of the Pyrenées, the queen of France, daughter of Philip IV. had absolutely renounced all her rights to the whole or any part of her father's dominions, and that renunciation had been renewed by her contract of marriage; yet Louis formed the design of reviving some of those rights, and securing a portion of that vast succession. The court of Versailles asserted, that Brabant ought to return to Maria Theresa, as eldest daughter of the first bed, in virtue of a law of inheritance established in the Low Countries, by which the children of the first bed excluded those of the second, males or females indifferently. This regulation was observed in private successions; but did it comprehend princes? Did it subsist after a solemn renunciation? These were important points of litigation, which arms alone could decide.

Writings on both sides.

The civilians and theologians, who were consulted by the two courts, did not fail to take opposite sides on this question. Papers were circulated by both parties, to prove the justice of their cause. One of those, published by the court of France, contains the following remarkable words—*Let it not be said that the sovereign is not subject to the laws of his state; for the contrary proposition is a truth of the law of nature; which, though flattery has sometimes attacked, good princes have always defended as a tutelary divinity of their dominions.* (Defence de Droits de la Reine.) Happy the monarchy where the prince really obeys the laws, and rules only by them!

Maxim on the sovereignty.

Louis too much inclined to war.

But it was a great misfortune to Europe, and even to France, that Louis, too much elated by his power, had not the moderation proper to regulate the exercise of it; and that his ambition for conquests and trophies prevented



prevented him from foreseeing the storms which his successes would infallibly draw upon his kingdom. Mazarin had filled him with flattering ideas of future grandeur. The marquis de Louvois, his minister for the war department, eagerly longed to signalize himself by enterprises favourable to his own ambition; and the interest of the minister being conformable to the inclinations and prejudices of the prince, it is easy to guess the issue of that affair.

All the king of Spain's brothers being dead, the inheritance of his crown appeared a future subject of dispute; and politics are not very scrupulous. M. Voltaire mentions a secret treaty, now deposited in the Louvre, by which the courts of France and Vienna already agreed upon a partition. The emperor Leopold consented that Louis should take possession of the Netherlands, on condition that Spain should revert to him after the death of Charles II. He took extraordinary precautions that no person should come to the knowledge of this treaty; the instrument of which, without any copy being taken, was locked up in a metal casket, and to be put into the hands of the grand duke of Tuscany. Such secrets are discovered sooner or later.

Secret treaty for the partition of the Spanish succession.

Excellent and well disciplined troops, immense preparations, magazines on the frontiers, two ministers of great abilities, and spurred on by emulation, a Turenne for general; with all these advantages, Louis marched out to certain conquest. He took Charleroi, Ath, Tournay, Furnes, Armentieres, Courtrai, and Douai, almost the moment he appeared before their gates. Lille, though strongly fortified, and garrisoned by six thousand men, held out only nine days. Louvois advising these places to be garrisoned, they were fortified by the celebrated Vauban, whose new method of constructing low works surpassed every thing which the powers of genius had invented.

1667. Conquests in Flanders.

Scarcely

1668.  
Con-  
quest of  
Franche  
Comté.

Scarcely had the king recruited himself from the fatigues of that campaign, when he set out, in the middle of winter, to conquer Franche Comté; a province dependent on the government of Flanders, or rather a kind of republic under the Spanish dominion, and which was attached to its sovereigns, because they ruled with mildness, and did not encroach on its privileges. The plan of the expedition had been proposed by Condé, governour of Burgundy; and Louvois, jealous of Turenne, embraced it with ardour. Some secret methods were taken to accelerate the success of the French arms; traitors were found; and where are they not to be found for money? Condé at once made himself master of Besançon and Salins. The king forced Dole to surrender in four days. In three weeks of the month of February, the whole province was conquered. Besançon, formerly an imperial city, had been ceded to Spain in 1652, in lieu of Frankendahl.

Behaviour  
of the  
king at  
the army.

In this double conquest, Louis shewed a courage, tempered with prudence, such as the conjunctures required. His presence sufficiently animated the soldiers. The uniforms which he first introduced among the troops, were an useful distinction for the regiments. Rewards, judiciously bestowed, inspired the keenest emulation: but the monarch brought into the armies his pomp and luxury; a dangerous example in future, as the generals would doubtless imitate him; the inferior officers, in a greater or less degree, copy the generals, and so of the rest. What a multitude of inconveniences resulted from this practice!

Too much  
luxury.

Spain ac-  
know-  
ledges the  
independ-  
ence of  
Portugal.

Alphonso  
VI. (the  
Impotent)  
dethron-  
ed.

The court of Madrid, which so shamefully lost her provinces under the administration of a Jesuit, found herself obliged, at last, to acknowledge the independence of Portugal, and put an end to a war of twenty six years, equally humbling to Spain as that of the United Provinces. The Portuguese had, a little before, dethroned Alphonso VI. a furious tyrant without the least glimmering of understanding; and his brother,

ther, Don Pedro, was put in his place, though only with the title of regent. He espoused the queen, whose first marriage was declared null, under pretence of impotency in the king; and that union was authorized by the pope. In other times, that affair would have been attended with more difficulty. Alphonso, who was declared impotent, had a bastard.

Mean time other nations were alarmed with the successes of France. England, above all, dreaded the consequences; and Holland trembled, lest she should have no longer a frontier. Those two powers, when scarcely reconciled, united by a treaty, which was almost instantaneously brought to a conclusion. Sir William Temple, ambassador at the Hague, and the grand pensionary De Wit, were men above the chicanery and artifices of vulgar politicians. They proceeded in the strait path, to the security of the common good. The triple alliance (for Sweden acceded to the treaty) was formed to oblige Louis to make peace with Spain, and again renounce the rights of the queen, in consideration of keeping part of his conquests. De Wit ventured to make this treaty be signed by the states general, without waiting for the consent of the provinces and cities. This was a case when the slow procedures of the government might have been fatal.—*We will talk of it in six weeks*, said the French ambassador, speaking of the projected alliance; so much did he reckon on the means of breaking it off, before the ordinary formalities were gone through.

The haughty conqueror stopped short. He proposed peace, and dissembled his vexation. He saw a burgo-master of Amsterdam, Van Beuning, an inflexible republican, in a manner heard his imperious haughtiness, and negotiate with his ministers without fear and without complaisance.—*Do you not rely on the king's word*, said they one day to that Dutchman? *I do not know what the king will do*, replied he, *I consider what he can do*. In a word, Van Beuning dictated the terms. The treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

Triple alliance to stop the progress of Louis.

Bold step of De Wit.

Van Beuning mortifies the king's pride.

Treaty of Aix la Chapelle.



treaty was signed at Aix la Chapelle; and Louis kept Flanders, restored Franche Comté, confirmed the treaty of the Pyrenées, but still retained his resentment.

F. Nitard  
disgusts  
don John  
of Austria.

Spain, though freed from so dangerous a war, was not yet at quiet. The regent, or rather her favourite, Nitard, maltreated the man with whom it was, above all others, necessary to keep fair. Don John of Austria, pushed to extremity, revolted, stirred up Arragon and Catalonia, and forced the queen to part with the Jesuit: she therefore sent him in quality of ambassador to Rome, where he obtained the purple; and the government was shared between the regent and the prince. The pride and incapacity of the confessor had turned the monarchy upside down; an important lesson, though little regarded.

That Je-  
suit loses  
his place.

Bucca-  
neers for-  
midable  
to Spain.

At the same time, the Spaniards were afflicted with a dreadful scourge in America. A body of pirates, lawless, dissolute, and irreligious, who thought life nothing when put in the balance with freedom, equally intrepid and cruel, known by the name of *buccaneers*, a mixture of English and French, had seized upon the isle of Tortuga, near St. Domingo. Though only furnished with canoes, they took large vessels. Nothing could resist their desperate impetuosity. The mortal hatred which they had sworn against the Spaniards, made them exert more than human efforts to do them an injury.

Their en-  
terprise  
against  
Porto  
Bello.

Six hundred, or at most a thousand, buccaneers, under the conduct of an Englishman, named Morgan, ventured to attack Porto Bello, a strong town, defended by a good garrison, and which contained immense riches. They scaled and took the citadel. The town ransomed itself for about a million of piastres (1669). Their boldness still increased, and heroic actions are recounted of them; but having neither rule, prudence, nor government, and giving themselves up to every imaginable excess, it at last became necessary that they should be dissipated, when Spain roused from her shameful lethargy.

After

After the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, France continued equally to increase in strength and splendour. Her commerce grew with her navy. Colbert and Louvois laboured with emulation for the glory of the monarch ; and that kingdom became an object of admiration, as well as jealousy, to foreigners. John Casimir, king of Poland, having abdicated his crown, from a taste for repose, chose it for his place of residence ; and was presented with the rich abbey of St. Germaine, which was sufficient to have made twenty Frenchmen happy. He had been a Jesuit and cardinal. He had no relish but for the sweets of society, of which Paris was the centre, where pleasure and urbanity had fixed their throne.

Prosperity  
of France.

A king of  
Poland  
comes to  
be an ab-  
bot in it.

Louis XIV. set another glorious example to the Christian princes, which was not imitated. The Turks besieging Candia, (ancient Crete) one of the principal possessions of Venice, to which some succours were sent by pope Clement IX. and the order of Malta but too weak to oppose so great an empire, seven thousand French were dispatched, under the command of the duke de Beaufort, to fight against the infidels. The duke de Rouanois, afterwards mareschal de la Feuillade, had already conducted thither, at his own expense, a troop of more than two hundred gentlemen. The heroic spirit of the crusades seemed to be revived, for an object worthy of rousing its activity. But that assistance came too late, or was not sufficient. The other nations remaining inactive, it only retarded the taking of Candia, which was reduced to extremity. The duke de Beaufort fell in that expedition. The town capitulated after a siege of three years. Francis Morosini, afterwards doge of Venice, captain general of the fleet, immortalized his name in the war ; and Montbrun, a Frenchman, who commanded the army of the republic, shared the glory of the Venetian. The grand vizir, Cuprogli, a man of distinguished abilities, used parallels in the trenches, which were invented by an Italian engineer. The Turks, on that occasion, set the first example

1669.  
Succours  
sent to  
Candia.

ample of a method, which has since been generally adopted as of the greatest utility.

## CHAP. II.

*War against Holland for insufficient Reasons.—Louis XIV. reduced to Extremities in 1662.—Commutations in Europe against him.—He soon loses his Conquests.*

Louis desirous of  
of being  
revenged  
on the  
Dutch.

**L**OUIS XIV. was irritated against that triple alliance, which had stopped him short in the career of his rapid conquests, and could not forgive Holland. After having generously succoured them, both against England and the bishop of Munster, Bernard Gallen, a warlike and enterprising prelate, he looked on their political-endavours to curb his ambition, as criminal and injurious. In a word, he thirsted for revenge and conquest.

His measures.

Being resolved to subdue Holland, he took every measure that would have been requisite for the boldest enterprise. Alliances, warlike preparations, profound secrecy, and vigorous activity, all contributed to ensure him success.

Critical  
situation  
of the  
king of  
England.

The most important point was to gain the king of England; and it was effected. Charles II. had but little authority. The English, in general, were discontented; and their turbulence was fomented by religious animosities, which were still very violent. On one side, the Presbyterians, harassed by the laws, murmured at a persecution which that prince did not approve: on the other, the Churchmen were enraged at his desiring to procure a toleration for the Catholics; and his brother, the duke of York, having embraced the Romish faith, the sects united to attack popery. Being void of economy, the wants of the crown perpetually returned:

the



the parliament was sparing in its grants, in order to keep him under the rein. The more Charles was curbed, the more fondness did he contract for absolute authority. His council was composed of five new ministers, who were nicknamed the *cabal*, and who gained his confidence by entering into his passions. The project of uniting with France, which would furnish him with powerful succours, and afterwards reigning with arbitrary power, was probably hatched by that council; a scheme entirely conformable to the genius of the duke of York, who had great influence over the king.

The cabal  
a new mi-  
nistry.

Such were the dispositions of the court of London, when Louis XIV. made preparations for entering into a negotiation with it, which was carried on in a very singular manner. Madame, wife to the duke of Orleans, sister to Charles II. a princess of great wit and beauty, was pitched upon to manage the treaty; and, in order to avoid suspicion, the king made a pompous tour to Dunkirk, and through his conquests in Flanders, accompanied by the queen and all the princesses. Madame, thus having a plausible pretence for paying a visit to her brother, passed the strait, and was met by Charles at Canterbury. The secret of state was concealed under the veil of festivals and pleasures, and a treaty concluded against Holland. At her return the young princess died; but this produced no change of measures. She had left with Charles a lady of her train, whom he continued to love till his death, and created dutchess of Portsmouth. This was an additional tie to captivate that voluptuous and imprudent prince. To what will not politics have recourse!

1670.  
Louis  
engages  
Charles  
II. in a  
league.

The emperor Leopold had alienated the affections of the Hungarians, by violating their privileges, and raising a religious persecution; two faults which seemed hereditary in the house of Austria, notwithstanding experience had so often demonstrated their fatal effects. Under colour of a conspiracy, real or pretended, he had seized

The em-  
perour of  
Germany  
and Swe-  
den aban-  
don Hol-  
land.

seized all the strong places in Hungary. Thus being taken up with his own affairs, and, besides, entertaining an aversion against the Hollanders, he acceded to the views of France. All the German princes were secured, except the elector of Brandenburg. Sweden was once more gained over. No dread was entertained of Spain; and Louis thought himself secure of conquering a defenceless republic.

Pretexts  
for the  
war.

As there was no solid reason for attacking it, recourse was had to complaints and pretences. A medal, in which Holland boasted of having *secured the laws, purified religion, succoured, defended and reconciled the monarchs, asserted the freedom of the seas, and established the tranquillity of Europe*; this proud medal, such as has been struck in every country, perhaps on less foundation, was one of the principal grievances; as if it had been the cause of usurpations on crowned heads. The die was broken by the Dutch; but Louis and Charles had taken their resolution, and war was declared.

Two parties  
in the  
republic.

Unluckily for the republic, it was divided by two factions. John de Wit, and his brother Cornelius, rigid adherents to liberty, had caused the young prince, William III. to be formally excluded from the stadtholdership, which had been abolished in 1650, after the death of his father, William II. A proof that these illustrious citizens acted from patriotic sentiments, is, that the pensionary had procured for the prince the best education, in order to render him capable of serving the state in every department: he had therefore exposed himself to the danger of one day becoming his victim, if William, who possessed a great share of merit, gave himself up to the guidance of ambition or revenge, rather than zeal for the interests of the republic. That prince, at the age of twenty one, joined to his noble qualities a keen and deliberate ambition. He aspired to the dignity of his ancestors, had a numerous party, and the discord at home increased the dangers from abroad.

John

John de Wit is blamed for neglecting the land forces, and bestowing his whole care on the marine. It is certain, that Holland was as weak on one side as she was formidable on the other. The sea seemed to be his element. The grand pensionary, not foreseeing a sudden invasion, which was so improbable, had turned his whole attention upon objects of the greatest importance to his republic. But too great security, sooner or later, becomes fatal. The safety of states depends upon foreseeing all possible dangers, and guarding against every event.

De Wit  
had ne-  
glected  
the land  
forces.

Louis marched at the head of all his forces, accompanied by his most renowned generals, against that little state, which could oppose him only with a few bad mercenary troops. He passed the Rhine, almost without danger, on the twelfth of June. The river was low, and the cavalry had but a little way to swim; while the cannon played furiously on the opposite bank. Two regiments, by which it was defended, quickly disappeared; and the infantry passed undisturbed, with the king, upon a bridge of boats. This brilliant action, which has been celebrated as a prodigy, was unquestionably bold and glorious; but fame and flattery gave it a lustre, which is greatly lessened by the impartiality of history.

1672.  
Passage  
of the  
Rhine.

In less than three months the provinces of Utrecht, Overijssel, and Gueldres, were conquered, together with above forty strong places. Amsterdam beheld the enemy almost at her gates. Meantime Ruyter gained glory in a sea fight against the combined fleets of England and France, near Solebay: the duke of York suffered so dreadful a fire, that he was constrained to change his ship. Though this engagement, which, like so many others, was indecisive, supported the honour of the Dutch flag, yet the republic believed herself inevitably ruined. Some marauders appeared within a league of the capital; and the gates would have been opened, had the party been more numerous.

Three  
provinces  
immedi-  
ately con-  
quered.

Battle of  
Solebay.

According



Holland  
on the  
brink of  
destruction.

According to M. Voltaire, whose words I here borrow, that I may lose nothing of an interesting narration—"The richest families, and those which were most zealous for liberty, prepared to flee into the farthest parts of the world, and embark for Batavia. They took a list of all the vessels capable of making the voyage, and made a calculation of the numbers they could embark. It was found that fifty thousand families could take refuge in their new country. Holland would no more have existed, but at the extremity of the East Indies: its provinces in Europe, which purchase their corn only with the riches of Asia, which subsist solely by their commerce, and, if the expression may be used, by their liberty, would have been almost at once ruined and depopulated. Amsterdam, the mart and magazine of Europe, where commerce and the arts are cultivated by two hundred thousand men, would soon have become a vast morass. All the neighbouring lands require immense expenses, and thousands of hands, to keep up their dykes: in all probability, their inhabitants would have left them, with their riches, and they would have been at last sunk under water; leaving to Louis XIV. only the miserable glory of having destroyed the finest and most extraordinary monument ever erected by human industry." Yet this is what poets, orators, and perhaps historians, would have adorned with all the flowers of the most eloquent flattery!

She sues  
for peace.

In this dreadful situation, John de Wit determined the states general to sue for peace, notwithstanding the opposition of the prince of Orange, who had been made general and admiral, without receiving any share in the administration. Their deputies implored the clemency of the victor, but were received by Louvois with insulting haughtiness, and intolerable conditions prescribed. They were required to give up all their possessions beyond the Rhine, and some strong places in the heart of

Intolera-  
ble con-  
ditions.

the

the republic ; to restore the Romish religion, and every year send an embassy extraordinary, acknowledging that they held their liberty of the king, &c. Louis, intoxicated by his victories, did not reflect on the inconstancy of fortune, which might one day humble him before those whom he had now oppressed. What treatment will he then meet with ?

On the return of the deputies, and news of the conditions, the terrour of the people was changed into despair, and despair revived the republican courage. The populace, transported with fury, forgetting the services of the De Wits, and charging them as being the authors of the present calamities, murdered and tore them in pieces with that horrible rage, of which some example is to be found in every country. But the magistrates exerted themselves for the public good, with the zeal and intrepidity of patriotic virtue. The young prince of Orange, being at last created stadtholder, became the principal support of the state.—*I have a sure method,* said he, *to prevent my ever being witness to the ruin of my country ; I will die in the last intrenchment.*

Despair.

Massacre  
of the De  
Wits.William  
stadthold-  
er.

In order to remove the enemy, the Dutch exposed themselves to the danger of drowning, and bored the dykes that kept out the sea. Amsterdam and the other towns were surrounded with the waters that overflowed the adjacent country. The love of liberty, and hatred of oppression, enabled them to endure all the calamities attendant on such a situation ; while William animated the people, and assured them of speedy assistance from the other powers of Europe, whom he solicited, not without success.

The dykes  
bored to  
lay the  
country  
under  
water.

In fact, Europe could not but open her eyes on the haughty ambition of Louis XIV. Every state saw itself threatened with the same enterprises which had made the Austrian power an object of terror and hatred. England was filled with indignation at the pernicious system pursued by her king, Charles II. The elector of Brandenburg openly declared himself, pro-

Europe  
roused in  
favour of  
Holland.

misfed the Dutch a body of twenty thousand men, and engaged the emperor Leopold to furnish them with twenty four thousand. Denmark, with almost all Germany, entered into this league; and Spain in a short time followed their example.

Faults committed by the conqueror, who follows injudicious counsel.

Had the conqueror fallen upon the capital while its inhabitants were overwhelmed with terror; if, instead of following the advice of his minister Louvois, and dispersing the troops in the conquered towns, he had demolished the fortifications, as was proposed by Condé and Turenne, who said that armies were more proper than garrisons for subjecting a country; in a word, if he had not allowed Holland time to breathe, and the stadtholder to act, that expedition would have been less fruitless. The best concerted projects are often ruined by an error in politics, or in the management of a war; and therefore the faults that have been committed furnish some of the most instructive lessons of history.

1673.  
He begins to lose his advantages.

The storm which was gathering did not prevent Louis XIV. from taking the town of Maestricht, the siege of which he carried on in person. This important place opened to him a communication with his conquests. But the general Montecuculi, who had been long stopped on the banks of the Rhine by Turenne, at last joined the Dutch. The prince of Orange took Bonn, having formed his troops by the most rigorous discipline. On the other side, Louvois, an unfeeling minister, caused a good officer to be ignominiously degraded, for having surrendered Naerden, after a combat of five hours. Naerden was the first place that Louis lost. But was it imagined, that the others would be preserved by an unjust example of severity?—and that the French would become invincible through the dread of shame, rather than sentiments of honour? That officer continued to serve as a volunteer, and the following campaign met the death which he courted.

Unjust severity of Louvois.

With



With so many enemies to oppose, it was impossible to keep the three conquered provinces; they were therefore put to ransom, and evacuated. What sentiments must then have been inspired by the monuments erected in honour of the conquest; among others, the triumphal arch of the gate of St. Denis! Louis began to feel by experience the deceitfulness of ambition. Ruyter had fought three battles at sea in the month of June 1673, when he had the glory of opposing the combined fleets of England and France without being vanquished; and Holland shewed herself as formidable on the ocean, as if she had sustained no losses elsewhere.

The conquests evacuated.

At last the English, whose political system was irreconcilable with the measures adopted by the court, filled with indignation at being made the instruments of promoting the dangerous projects formed by Louis XIV. gave Charles so much uneasiness, that peace became absolutely necessary. The parliament remonstrated against an ancient indulgence, which suspended the penal laws regarding religion; and the king broke the seal of that proclamation with his own hand. Besides this, he was obliged to consent to the famous *test* oath, by which the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation was formally condemned: All who held any office in the state being obliged to take this oath, the duke of York was constrained to resign the post of high admiral. Charles, seeing the administration exposed to the censures of parliament, and having no hopes of new subsidies, hastily concluded a peace in 1674, Holland promising him a sum of about three hundred thousand pounds sterling. He alone profited by this war, which had been a heavy burden to the nation. He excused himself to Louis, preserved his connexions with France, and even left ten thousand men in her service.

The English give Charles II. uneasiness.

Test oath.

Charles makes peace with Holland.

## CHAP. III.

*Sequel of the War with Holland, now become almost general.—Louis XIV. triumphant.—He dictates the Terms of Peace at Nimeguen in 1678.*

1674.  
Almost all  
Europe in  
arms  
against  
Louis.

A WAR undertaken with so little reason, though begun with such vigour and success, might in the end prove fatal to France. In a short time, she was deserted by all her allies except Sweden. The emperor, with a great part of the empire, Spain and Denmark, were her enemies, as well as Holland. Yet she had great resources in the authority of the king, the skill of her ministers and generals, the ardour of the nation accustomed to victory, and in the riches which had been diffused through the whole kingdom by industry and commerce. Louis, therefore, was necessarily still triumphant; but his triumphs were a kind of slow poison, which wasted the body politic.

He seized  
Franche  
Comté.

He went in person to make a conquest of Franche Comté, which the Spanish minister abandoned almost to itself. An attempt was made to send succours, but too late; the Swiss refusing to grant a passage. Besançon was taken after a siege which lasted only nine days, and the whole province was subdued in six weeks. The conqueror confirmed its privileges; but, notwithstanding, could not efface the memory of a government more gentle than his own.

Subjects  
of animosity  
in  
Germany.

During the very time that the negotiations were carrying on at Cologne, the emperor Leopold had caused count Fürstenberg to be arrested in that city, as a favourer of Louis XIV. This violence, which was the more inexcusable, as the Germanic body had not yet declared itself, increased the animosity of the parties, and left no hopes of peace. The elector palatine, to whom

whom France had done great services, entered into the league with the emperor against France; which was another motive for hatred and revenge. Consequently the operations of war were stained with cruelty.

Turenne commanded an army of twenty thousand men on the Rhine. He performed all his great actions with few forces. At Sentzheim he beat the imperialists, commanded by the old duke of Lorraine, Charles IV. who had brought so many misfortunes upon himself by his unsteady conduct, and was then stripped of his dominions for a new act of infidelity. The conqueror fell upon the palatinate, through which he carried desolation, and reduced to ashes two cities, besides twenty five villages; for those barbarities were commanded by the ministers. It is related, that the elector, reduced to despair, having sent him a challenge, he replied, that—*From the time he had the honour to be general of the armies of France, he never fought but at the head of twenty thousand men.*

Turenne  
lays waste  
the pala-  
tinate.

Condé commanded forty five thousand in Flanders, against a much superiour number. He attacked the prince of Orange at Senef, near Mons, where he had three horses killed under him. According to the report of the clergy of that neighbourhood, the field of battle was covered with twenty five thousand dead bodies, though the victory remained undecided. That field ought to be the school of princes who are infected with the madness of loving war.

Bloody &  
useless  
battle of  
Senef.

Should any person be inhuman enough to look without pity on the multitude of unknown victims, yet the loss of a great man, such as Turenne, which happened soon after, must move his regret. That general's two last campaigns are a prodigy of military skill, consecrated to the defence of the state. More than sixty thousand imperialists had passed the Rhine, while he had not above one third of that number; yet he saved Alsace and Lorraine, gained several victories, dispersed the enemy, obliged them to repass into Germany; and all

Last cam-  
paigns of  
Turenne.

this



this by following the dictates of his own genius, in contradiction to the orders of the ministry.

1675.  
He is opposed by  
general  
Montecuculi.

He passed the Rhine in his turn, when he was opposed by Montecuculi, a general worthy of being his antagonist. During two months, they rivalled each other in admirable marches and encampments; foreseeing each other's designs, never surprised, and always seizing the smallest advantage. Turenne was making dispositions for a battle, and thought himself on the eve of a victory, when he was slain by a cannon shot near Sasbach. The same ball took off the arm of the marquis de St. Hilaire, who, seeing his son melt into tears, said to him—*It is not for me, but for that great man, you ought to weep*: an expression worthy of a Regulus. The French, commanded by the count de Lorges, made an honourable retreat, and resisted the efforts of Montecuculi. But the imperial general penetrated into Alsace, and did not repass the Rhine till the prince of Condé was sent against him. This was the last campaign of the French prince and the Austrian general.

Campaigns of  
the marshal de  
Crequi.

The marshal de Crequi, having rashly attacked a superiour army, which was besieging Treves, lost the battle of Consarbruck; but, instructed by experience and misfortune, he afterwards shewed himself as prudent as brave. Having thrown himself into Treves, accompanied only by three persons, he resolved to perish rather than surrender. A cowardly and insolent officer capitulated on the breach, and the mutinous garrison endeavoured to extort the marshal's consent; but he rather chose to fall into the hands of the enemy. After his ransom, he made two campaigns, (in 1677 and 1678) during which he seemed to be animated with the spirit of Turenne. The young duke of Lorraine, Charles V. nephew and heir of Charles IV. after having taken Philipsburgh, though at the head of sixty thousand men, could neither surprise him, force him to a battle, penetrate into Lorraine, nor hinder him from taking Friburgh.

If I traced the events of the war, and attempted to range them according to their dates, I should only compose a barren and firesome gazette. Those accumulated facts, which efface the memory of each other, are to be found every where. I am afraid of giving too many of them, even when I confine myself to the most remarkable. Let us endeavour, at least, to fix them in the mind by some instructive idea; for without ideas words are useless.

Confusion  
in the e-  
vents of  
the war.

While Spain made war in favour of her old enemies the Dutch, her government still continued to be the worst in Europe. Sicily, overwhelmed by the weight of despotism, revolted in 1674; and the example was set by Messina itself, which till then had continued faithful. Louis XIV. was proclaimed in that city, after a victory gained by his fleet. Charles II. who came of age in 1675, recalled Don John of Austria, whom the queen regent persecuted from the beginning; but soon after dismissed him, and, by the queen's advice, gave himself up to the direction of Valenzuela, an intriguing poet of obscure birth, who was already raised to the first offices of the court. This new minister gave festivals and plays, amused and corrupted the people, dissipated the finances in pompous frivolities, and neglected the administration, with the first principles of which he was unacquainted. F. Nitard was not more unworthy of government.

Revolt in  
Sicily  
against  
Spain.

Valenzue-  
la a bad  
minister  
in Spain.

The Spaniards were reduced to solicit the assistance of the Dutch, in order to defend or recover Sicily; upon which Ruyter sailed into the Mediterranean with a fleet, where Duquesne, his rival in glory, fought him twice. The second engagement cost the life of Ruyter, one of the greatest men of his age, who, from the station of a cabin boy, was become the hero and defender of his country. Duquesne had likewise made his fortune solely by his merit. He again attacked the enemies, Dutch and Spaniards, when he gained the victory; and yet Messina was evacuated two years after, in 1678.

Ruyter &  
Duquesne  
on the  
coast of  
Sicily.

Messina  
evacuated  
in 1678.

These astonishing exertions of naval force, joined to so many other ruinous expenses, exhausted Louis XIV. to such a degree, that he could not carry on his enterprises. Besides, the Spanish ministry was no longer the same. Charles II. had confined his mother in a convent; Valenzuela had been banished to the Philippine islands; and Don John was become prime minister.

Conquests  
of Louis in  
Flanders.

The great success of France was in the Netherlands, on which she turned the chief strength of her arms. Louis loved a war carried on by sieges, because he could not fail of succeeding in them, with the assistance of a Louvois and Vauban, aided by so formidable and well provided armies. He took in person Condé, Bouchain, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Ghent, and Ipres. The taking of Valenciennes is distinguished by a glorious action. Contrary to the established custom, Vauban proposed to make the attack in open day; proved that the blood of the soldiers would be spared, the enemy more easily surprised, the cowards forced to behave well, and consequently there would be less danger and greater advantage. This advice, which prevailed, notwithstanding the opposition of five marshals, and Louvois himself, was justified by the event. The venturous courage of the musqueteers, who rapidly darted from one work to another, yet conducting themselves with caution, forced the town to surrender, before the king knew that the outworks were carried. The numerous garrison surrendered prisoners of war. In actions of this kind the French have no equals.

Taking of  
Valen-  
ciennes  
most re-  
markable.

Despreaux  
& Racine  
flattering  
historio-  
graphers.

Louis, after his return from the brilliant campaign of 1677, said to Despreaux and Racine, his historiographers—*I am sorry you did not come to this last campaign; you would have seen war, and your journey would not have been long.* (It was then the month of May.) *Your majesty,* replied Racine, *has not given us time to get our clothes made.* These were delicate strokes of flattery, and relished by the conqueror. They intoxicated him with the fumes of vanity, and blinded him to future evils.

Two



Two great poets, whom he made choice of to write his history, would have made it a panegyric, had they performed their task as their title and pensions required them; or they must have belied their own writings. Will it be believed, that Despreaux, after his epistle on the passage of the Rhine, could have given a just idea of the Dutch war?

Notwithstanding the abilities and courage of the prince of Orange, he still felt the superiority of the French arms. He had raised the siege of Maestricht in 1676. The saying of Calvo, an intrepid Catalan, who commanded in the place, deserves to be repeated.

The prince of Orange unsuccessful in war.

—*I am entirely unacquainted with the art of defending a town*, said he to his engineers; *all I know is, that I am resolved not to surrender*. The following year William attempted to retrieve St. Omer, which was besieged by the duke of Orleans; but lost the battle of Cassel, and the town was taken. The duke of Orleans had a horse killed under him, and gave proofs of bravery which could scarcely be expected, considering the effeminacy of his manners. So powerful was the force of example, and the impulse to glory. The king, it is said, grew jealous of him; at least, he never after put his brother at the head of an army.

He is beaten at Cassel by the duke of Orleans.

That prince was every where victorious; while his allies, the Swedes, lost the principality of Verden, Pomerania, and almost every thing they possessed in Germany. The elector of Brandenburg and the king of Denmark stripped a power which had so long domineered in the empire. Meantime negotiations were carried on at Nimeguen; the enemy were divided by motives of private interest. France imposed terms of peace, and it was necessary to accept them.

Losses of Sweden.

Negotiations at Nimeguen

The Dutch separated from the confederacy for their own advantage. The war had been kindled against them, and they had been brought to the verge of destruction in a single campaign; but having found means to remove it from their own provinces, ever since

1678. Separate peace with Holland.

the

the year 1674, they acted only as auxiliaries. By a strange revolution in affairs they lost nothing. Maeftricht was restored to them, the only town yet remaining to Louis XIV. of so many conquests.

Battle of  
Mons af-  
ter the  
treaty.

Here the ambitious prince of Orange, who was too averse from the peace, though he knew that it was concluded, or on the point of being concluded, signalized himself in an odious manner. He attacked the duke of Luxemburgh near Mons with his whole forces. That worthy pupil of the great Condé was surprised, but not vanquished; he even had the advantage. The peace had been signed four days before. What advantage then could the prince of Orange hope from a victory?—and how could he wash away the stain of that blood which he wantonly shed? Is mankind then the sport of a few illustrious murderers?

Peace  
with Spain  
which  
loses a  
great deal.

When the Dutch, by separating from their allies, as they did before, during the negotiations of Westphalia, had secured a peace on such advantageous terms, Spain hastened to conclude, without giving herself any trouble about the empire. She gave up Franche Comté, and almost all the conquered towns in the Netherlands, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambrai, Aire, St. Omer, Ipres, Menin, Cassel, Maubeuge, Charlemont, &c. A new proof of the weakness of that vast monarchy.

Peace  
with the  
emperour,  
the elector  
of Bran-  
denburgh  
and Den-  
mark.

Some time was still required to come to an accommodation with the empire; because France insisted upon full restitution being made to Sweden; to which the allied powers of the north refused to consent. But the emperour separated from them, and concluded his treaty on the fifth of February 1679, on terms exactly conformable to the peace of Munster, except that France had Friburgh instead of Philipsburgh. At last the elector of Brandenburg and Denmark concluded a peace in the course of the same year. Sweden lost very little; yet her king, Charles XI. was so highly provoked, that he always retained the keenest resentment against Louis XIV. from whom he expected a more generous zeal for his interests.

According

According to the abbé Mably, France committed great faults in her manner of treating the interests of Sweden.—“First, she ought not to have made her peace with the emperor, without concluding that of her ally; because the principal interest of a prevailing power, which has carried on a war with success, is to make her alliance respected, sought after, and loved. In the second place, having given law to her enemies, she ought rather to have renounced her own advantages, than allow her ally to be obliged to make the least cession; because no conquest is equal to the reputation of being a generous and good friend.” (*Droit public de l’Europe.*)

Faults committed by France in the treatment of Sweden her ally,

Louis engaged, by his treaty with Leopold, to restore the duke of Lorraine, but with a reservation of Nancy and the highways. However, the duke chose rather to remain without dominions, than agree to such conditions. We shall see his son Leopold, father of the emperor Francis I. recover the possession of Lorraine by the treaty of Ryswick.

The duke of Lorraine remains voluntarily without dominions.

#### C H A P. IV.

*During the Peace, Louis XIV. draws upon himself the Hatred of the Potentates.—Vienna besieged by the Turks.—Genoa bombarded and reduced.—Death of Colbert.—Reflections on his Administration.*

**L**OUIS XIV. having defeated those enemies whom he had drawn upon himself; having given peace to Europe upon his own terms; being in possession of Franche Comté, and having added a great part of Flanders to his dominions; decorated with the surname of Great, which had been bestowed upon him by flattery, or the admiration of his countrymen, would have

1680.  
Louis does not make a prudent use of his good fortune.



have been truly wise, if he had employed his power with moderation, as a father to his people, and an equitable arbiter to foreign nations ; but, intoxicated with success and grandeur, he took some violent steps, by which he rendered himself odious, as they could not fail, sooner or later, to prove a source of public calamity. I dwell upon the faults of this so celebrated monarch, because they afford some excellent instructions.

Chambers  
of Metz &  
Brisack.

Several territories, which had formerly been dependent on the three bishopricks and Alsace, had been for a long time in the possession of different German princes ; and Louis wanted again to unite them to the crown of France. For that purpose two chambers were established, the one at Metz, the other at Brisack ; and these tribunals having given a decree for the reunion, the king by this means did himself justice. The parliament of Besançon reunited Montbeliard as a fief of Franche Comté.

Straßburgh  
subjected.

An attempt still bolder was executed the following year. Straßburgh, a very powerful city, whose bridge over the Rhine opened a passage into the kingdom, was still free ; and Louis earnestly desired to have it subjected to France. While he employed money and threatenings to influence the magistrates, he caused twenty thousand men to march into the neighbourhood, who soon determined the success of the negotiation, and the treaty was immediately concluded. Straßburgh capitulated, and preserved its ancient privileges. Vauban, who had fortified a great many places, exhausted all the powers of his genius upon this ; and certainly every precaution was necessary to keep a courageous people in subjection, who were extremely jealous of their liberty.

The prin-  
ces put  
them-  
selves in  
motion  
against  
France.

These conquests, made in full peace, and the confiscation of dominions belonging to different sovereigns, could not fail to occasion hatred, distrust, and apprehensions. The emperor, the king of Sweden, and some other princes, had already attempted to arm the Germanic body ; and if the elector of Brandenburg, who had

had become more powerful by the recent acquisition of Magdeburgh, had not at that time supported the interests of France, the war would have been rekindled.

The affair of the reunion was to be examined at a congress held in Frankfort, where the plenipotentiaries of Louis XIV. presented a memorial in French. Great disputes were raised on that language being used; on the title of excellence, which was refused by the electors to the ministers of the princes of the empire; on the right of conferring separately, which the princes disputed with the electors: and these frivolous contentions, which were looked upon as matters of importance at that time, made the affair of the reunion be forgotten, the congress dissolved, and the business put off till the meeting of the diet at Ratisbon.

At this diet, which was held in the year 1682, it was proposed to raise troops to support the ancient treaties; and the circles of the Upper Rhine, Suabia and Franconia, formed a league with the emperor at Luxemburg; to which the king of Sweden, the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, the dukes of Lunenburgh, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, very soon acceded. Thus did Leopold set the whole empire against France; not, like his ancestors, by absolute authority, but by exaggerating the strength and despotism of Louis. However, they durst not yet take up arms; and the emperor was even threatened with losing his hereditary dominions to the Turks.

The court of Vienna having frequently attacked the privileges of the Hungarians, they again revolted; and the count de Teckeli, who was the chief of the rebels, had recourse to the Turks, and put himself under their protection. Mahomet IV. who was then on the throne, and had already taken Candia from the Venetians; the Ukraine, Podolia, Volhinia, and Kaminick, from Poland; raised an army of two hundred thousand men against the house of Austria. Nothing could stop the progress of the Mussulmen, and Vienna was besieged.

It

A congress, where they dispute about trifles.

A league formed by Leopold.

Rebellion of the Hungarians.

Teckeli brings in the Turks.

It was in vain that Teckeli represented to them the imprudence of this undertaking ; for they must either very soon yield up their conquest, or engage against all the powers in Europe.

1683.  
Siege of  
Vienna.

If Cuprogli, the grand vizir, had been still alive, that capital must have fallen. The emperor fled to Passau ; the count de Stahrenberg, who was the governor of the city, had only a garrison of ten thousand men, and the want of troops was feebly supplied by the citizens and scholars ; but the grand vizir Cara Mustapha, effeminate, voluptuous, and ignorant, did not press the operations of the siege, nor give a general assault ; being perhaps desirous, as it was imagined, to reserve to himself the treasures which he supposed had been accumulated there by the emperors. John Sobieski, king of Poland, arrived with his army, to which that of the empire was soon added ; he attacked the intrenchments of the Turks, who, being seized with a panic, scarcely made any resistance, and left all to the conquerors.

Saved by  
Sobieski ;

whom the  
emperor  
wants to  
subject to  
the cere-  
monial.

Can it be believed that Leopold, at his return to Vienna, wanted to cause that king of Poland, who had just saved him, to submit to the humiliating ceremonial prescribed by his court ? Sobieski spiritedly refused ; and it was an additional triumph to him to be dispensed from that *etiquette*. At present the imperial court has different ideas of grandeur, and every thing feels the progress of reason.

Luxem-  
burgh  
bombard-  
ed by the  
French.

Before the irruption of the Turks into Austria, Louis XIV. caused Luxemburg to be blockaded. He pretended that Alost belonged to him by the treaty of Nimwegen, and supported his claims by arms. He suspended hostilities for a year, that Spain might assist the emperor, who was then in great danger ; but it was not over when they were renewed. The French made themselves masters of Courtrai and Dixmude, bombarded and then took Luxemburg. As it was impossible to resist, a negotiation was opened, and a truce of twenty years concluded. Spain gave up Luxemburg. The

Truce of  
twenty  
years.

emperor



emperour abandoned Strasburgh, the castle of Kehl, and a part of the reunion made by the chambers of Metz and Brisack, during the term of the truce. Being compelled by necessity, they watched an opportunity to free themselves, and it was not long before one presented.

The dreadful power of Louis XIV. displayed itself in every quarter ; his navy increased prodigiously ; and the ports of Dunkirk, Toulon, Brest, and Rochefort, were much to be admired, both because of their construction and the naval force which they contained. Above one hundred ships of the line could carry dismay over the globe ; squadrons were employed against the African pirates ; bomb ketches, which had been newly invented by a Frenchman, thundered against Algiers in 1681, and a second time in 1684. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, humbled themselves under this destructive scourge, and sent to beg for mercy.

The navy  
of Louis  
XIV.

Algiers  
bombard-  
ed.

Genoa was crushed and humbled in like manner with the corsairs, it having been imputed to them as a crime, that they had sold powder to the pirates, and constructed some galleys for Spain. It suffered a bombardment, and part of its palaces was reduced to ashes. The doge, and four of the principal senators, were obliged to go in person and implore the king's mercy. The answer of the doge, Imperiali, is universally known, when he was asked by one of the ministers, What he thought most extraordinary at Versailles ? he replied—*To see myself here.* The civilities of that haughty monarch were but a slender consolation for his severities. According to the laws of Genoa, a doge forfeits his dignity when he leaves the city ; but, upon this occasion, they were obliged to derogate from this law.

Genoa  
bombard-  
ed, with-  
out suffi-  
cient  
cause.

The doge  
at Ver-  
sailles.  
1685.

An embassy which had been lately received from the king of Siam, seemed to add lustre to the reign of Louis ; but, however, it was in reality nothing but the consequence of an intrigue of an obscure Greek, called Constantius, who was become the minister of that Indian despot, and expected to dethrone him. The am-  
bassadours

Embassy  
from Siam.

Vain conduct of the king upon that subject.

bassadours gave out, that their master was not far from embracing Christianity; and proposed to enter into a commercial treaty with the French, who had newly settled on the coast of Coromandel, whom he preferred to all the Europeans that were known in India. The king of France was too fond of every thing that encouraged his vanity, to let slip such a flattering opportunity; he therefore sent two ambassadours to Siam, one of whom was the celebrated abbé du Choisi, accompanied by six Jesuits, who were afterwards followed by some troops. Constantius was put to death as a traitor; the French were either killed or driven out of the country by the people of Siam; which was all the fruit reaped from the expense occasioned by this extraordinary embassy, from whence the missionaries expected the greatest advantages.

Great loss by the death of Colbert, in 1683.

In the year 1683 died M. Colbert—"That ever memorable man," says the president Henault, "whose cares were divided between economy and prodigality: from that regularity of disposition by which he was characterized, he laid plans of frugality in his closet, to find funds which he was to lavish in the eyes of all Europe, either for the glory of his master, or from the necessity of obeying him: he was a man of prudence, without those faults to which genius is liable." The loss of that minister was a very remarkable event. The king was indebted to him, in a great measure, for his prosperity; and without him the great works which were executed could not have been performed; Louis could not have triumphed over so many enemies, nor at the same time have erected such a number of superb monuments. What followed afterwards shews how much every thing depends upon the proper administration of the finances; like blood to the human body, it gives life to the state.

Immoderate expenses had obliged

France was already sensible of the consequence of a monarch having an immoderate passion for pomp, vain expenses, ruinous pleasures, and for war, which was still more

more destructive. The ordinary revenues amounted to a hundred and seventeen millions, at twenty seven or twenty eight livres the mark. The war of 1672 obliged the minister to revive abuses which he wished to have abolished, and to have recourse to expedients that are always hurtful; in a word, four millions of extraordinaries, raised in six years, were the resource of this great statesman.

"He found it impossible to adhere to the measures his own judgment approved," says a celebrated historian; "for it evidently appears, by all his instructions which remain, that he was persuaded the true riches of a country consisted in the number of inhabitants, the culture of the lands, the industry of the people, and the prosperous state of commerce. He saw that the king possessed very few crown lands, and, being no more than the steward of the people's wealth, could not be truly rich, but by taxes easily collected and equally proportioned." (*Age of Louis XIV. c. 28.*)

him to have recourse to pernicious expedients.

He was obliged to deviate from his own principles.

If these were the principles of Colbert, if he did not flatter the passions of his master, if he yielded only to the necessities of the present moment, what would a minister of inferior abilities, and less integrity, have done under such a king as Louis XIV.—"Sulli," adds M. de Voltaire, "enriched the state by a prudent economy, which was seconded by a frugal, valiant king, who at the head of his army was a soldier, and when living with his people a father. . . . Colbert supported the state, notwithstanding the luxury of a sovereign fond of expense, who lavished away his whole revenue to give splendour to his government." The different character of the two princes accounts for the difference of the administration.

His situation very different from that of Sulli.

But it will always be a matter of astonishment, after having seen the example of Sulli, that Colbert could have given so much encouragement to promote the trading in luxuries and rich manufactures, and so little

Was his system the best?



to agriculture, whose produce, though more slow, yet would have been more considerable, and of more solid advantage. His system can never be preferred, when it is known that the silk manufacture has greatly diminished the produce of the land. We cannot easily be persuaded that Colbert had the good of the people so much at heart, as the desire of pleasing his sovereign. Yet it is said, that, at the close of his life, he lost the royal favour, which had cost him so much uneasiness, and for which he had made so many sacrifices!

These objects are essential to history.

These reflections would be misplaced, if they did not prepare the reader for the events which ought to follow. The purpose of studying history can never be attained but by discovering the springs which set the affairs of the world in motion, and by learning to observe the effects in the causes. When the means were lessened, the powers of Louis XIV. fell into decay; but he still continued to preserve a considerable superiority: he will still be seen imperious and enterprising, and very successful, before he arrives at that period when he was depressed by adversity. In the following chapter he will be seen contending with the court of Rome, and persecuting the Calvinists of France; a very curious subject, which had an influence on the system of Europe, and is more useful than the uniform narration of wars and negotiations. Practical consequences result from it, of as much importance to the happiness of states as to individuals.

System of Europe.

## CHAP. V.

*Disputes with the Jansenists.—Quarrels of Louis XIV. with Innocent XI.—Revocation of the Edict of Nantz.*

**E**VER since the time of the minority of Louis XIV. the disputes with the Jansenists agitated France, without occasioning those violent commotions which the bigotry of sects had produced in the days of fanaticism. Theologians, who disagreed in opinion upon the abstract subject of grace, contended with their pens, censuring one another with bitterness, giving vent to reciprocal hatred, and animating the well or ill meant zeal of an ignorant multitude: they adhered obstinately to their opinions, some from prejudice, others from interest of party, a great many from religious sentiments, and sometimes embarrassed the court, which did not know how to put an end to their contentions; but such was the steadiness of government, though too little acquainted with these delicate subjects, that it prevented the ferment from opening volcanoes in the kingdom.

As the Jansenists were afraid to break with the church of Rome, whose doctrines they maintained against the Protestants, they thought proper to say, that the five propositions condemned by Innocent X. and Clement VII. were not in the work of Jansenius, and therefore the author ought not to be condemned. That subterfuge irritated the Jesuits and their adherents, who immediately exclaimed that the authority of the Holy See was insulted by rebels. Instead of dispelling all doubt, by simply pointing out the pages in which these propositions were contained, they would compel them to submit; and the assembly of the clergy, which met in 1661, commanded that a formulary should be subscribed, declaring that these propositions were actually

Theological disputes, without violent effects.

Whether the five propositions were the doctrine of Jansenius.

Formulary established by the king.

in the work of Janſenius ; and the king went in perſon to parliament, to change the formulary into a law of the kingdom. The nuns of Portroyal reſuſing to ſubſcribe it, (and what ſignified their ſignature?) they were baniſhed from the convent. In 1665 Alexander VII. publiſhed a new formulary, ſtronger than that of the clergy, to condemn the propoſitions *in the author's own ſenſe* ; which all eccleſiaſtics, ſecular and regular, prelates as well as the reſt, and even nuns, were obliged to ſubſcribe ; and the king again cauſed a declaration for that purpoſe to be regiſtered in his preſence.

Another  
formu-  
lary, more  
ſtrong.

Happily  
the times  
were  
changed.

Some four tempers fancied that they ſaw thoſe deplorable times returned in which the Greeks diſturbed the world by their ſubtilties ; when parties were heated and conſciences alarmed by formularies ; when the emperours, by commanding opinions, and treating untractable enthuſiaſts with cruelty, equally endangered the faith and the empire. Happily, the vivacity of the French found vent on other ſubjects ; fanaticiſm had ſpent its force ; the clergy were by no means ſeditious ; and the all powerful monarch had nothing to apprehend but rumours, about which he gave himſelf very little trouble.

Opposi-  
tions.

Arnaud  
againſt the  
Jeſuits.

Perſecution, however, always animates the perſecuted. Four courageous and inflexible biſhops obſtinately op- poſed the court ; and doctör Arnaud, the brother of one of theſe biſhops, continued conſtantly to write, and railed againſt the morality of the Jeſuits, who were looked upon as the authors of theſe diſturbances. A bankruptcy which they had made for four hundred and fifty thouſand ducats, at Seville, in 1640, afforded new colours for the hideous picture which for a long time had been given of that ſociety.

Peace of  
the church  
not ſin-  
cere.

Nine commiſſioners, who had been already named by Alexander VII. ſet out to try the four prelates who had rejected the formulary, and ſheltered themſelves under the diſtinction of *fact* and *right*, when nineteen other biſhops ſuddenly declared in their favour ; upon which



which the court, being embarrassed, became desirous of an accommodation. The court of Rome immediately changed its tone; and Clement IX. (Rospigliosi) connived at the distinction of *right* and *fact*, desiring only that they would sign the formulary *sincerely*, without requiring that it should be done *purely and simply*; which gave great offence to the obstinate. Hereupon all seemed to be pacified; severities were at an end; the famous Arnaud was presented to Louis, and the *peace of the church* was celebrated in 1669 by a medal.

Could it be supposed, that a set of angry theologians, irreconcilable in their opinions, rivals in reputation and interest, looking upon one another as heretics and corruptors, unhappily having it too much in their power to awaken discord by writings or cabals, would sacrifice their hatred and prejudices for the sake of peace? The Jesuits were become too powerful to let their enemies rest in peace, especially after having endured such bitter reproaches as had been levelled against them. They governed the consciences of the principal men in the kingdom, and had the art to secure themselves in the midst of a voluptuous court, where the austerity of Jansenism was only proper to inspire disgust. Some eminent men, particularly Bourdaloue, cleared their doctrine from the censures that were laid upon it; and the sermons of that respectable orator were the best answer that could be given to the *Provincial Letters*. But at last Father de la Chaise, who was the king's confessor from 1675 to 1709, acquired an almost absolute power over the clergy, disposed of the benefices, and, by an artful use of his favour, made his society all powerful.

By this means the contentions could not fail to continue, especially as Louis, always involved either in the hurry of a court or of war, illiterate, and fancying that nothing was necessary but to give orders for the execution of whatever was suggested to him, was very far from adopting the best principles of government with regard to objects of this nature.

His

The Jesuits had too great influence.

Bourdaloue.

LaChaise.

The disputes could not fail to continue.

The affair  
of the re-  
gale.

His disputes with the court of Rome about the regale and the franchises, served at least to save what we call *the liberties of the Gallican church* from oblivion. By the ancient privilege of the *regale*, the kings of France disposed of the revenues of the vacant bishoprics, and nominated to the benefices of the diocese. Some churches towards the Alps and the Pyrenées alledged, that they were exempt from this claim, though the edict of 1673 declared that it extended over the whole kingdom. All the bishops submitted, except those of Alet and Pamiers, who were distinguished by their virtues, and celebrated by their opposition to the formula-ry. The first died soon after, but the second did not continue less inflexible.

Innocent  
XI. sup-  
ports the  
refracto-  
ry.

Innocent XI. (Odescalchi) who was elected pope in 1676, a man of virtue, but exceedingly bigotted, more bold and steady than was proper, as affairs were then situated, who neither loved Louis XIV. nor the Jesuits, declared in favour of the adversaries of the regale, though accused of Jansenism, and sent briefs calculated to encourage them. A monk, whom the chapter of Pamiers had appointed grand vicar after the death of the bishop, carried his insolence to the greatest height. Being condemned by the parliament of Toulouse to be executed in effigy, and drawn upon a hurdle, he did not desist from fulminating excommunications, annulling the decrees of the parliament, and the sentences of the metropolitan.

Insolence  
of a  
monk.

Assembly  
of the  
clergy.

The clergy, as well as the nobles, were in general very submissive; their zeal might be depended on, and it was of consequence to have their support. An extraordinary assembly being convoked for that purpose, they acknowledged the right of the regale over all the churches, and wrote a most respectful letter to the pope, in which the following maxim is to be found, though too seldom attended to—*It is better to sacrifice some privileges, than to disturb the public peace.* While the clergy were attentive to their privileges, they conducted themselves

themselves as if they made a concession to the sovereign.

At this time appeared the four famous propositions of this assembly, in which it was established, 1. That princes are not subject to ecclesiastical authority in temporals. 2. That a general council is superiour to the pope, according to the unalterable decrees of the council of Constance. 3. That the rules and customs of the Gallican church ought to be supported. 4. That the sentence of the pope is not infallible in matters of faith, till the approbation of the church has been obtained. In the year 1682, the king published an edict, by which he commanded these four articles to be registered, and inculcated all over the kingdom.

Its four  
articles.

Innocent replied to the bishops in that imperious style which the popes formerly employed, and supported with anathemas. He at first lamented in the words of the prophet—*The children of my mother have risen up against me, and have made war upon me.* In the next place, he accused them of meanness, for not having contended for the rights and privileges of the church, like their predecessors. He represented the foundation of discipline and the hierarchy as overturned, even the faith attacked by the regale; which, according to him, appeared very plain, by the terms the king employed in assuming to himself the right of conferring benefices, not as a concession of the church, but as a privilege of the crown. He accused them of having given up an unalienable right, after they had declared the regale to be a kind of servitude. Could they then place the churches under the yoke of secular power; they whose duty it was to expose themselves to slavery to preserve its liberty? To conclude, by the authority which he had received from the Almighty, he cancelled and annulled whatever had been done by the assembly.

The pope  
annuls  
the whole.

He re-  
proaches  
the bi-  
shops.

The time was still distant when the bulls and briefs of the court of Rome, on the subject of ancient claims, were scarcely to affect popular credulity. So much were the principles of the early ages obscured by old prejudices,

The liber-  
ties of the  
clergy  
meet  
with  
great ob-



structions  
in the  
kingdom.

prejudices, that the doctrine established by the clergy of France appeared quite new to a number of theologians. Many of the doctors of the Sorbonne rather chose to be banished, than submit to the four articles. The theologians assembled forty five times to censure a proposition which reserved the privilege of deciding in matters of opinion to the pontiff. After all, a great number of bishops did not obtain their bulls, in future, till they disavowed the authority of the council held in 1682; and thus the liberties of the Gallican church, which have been since so readily adopted by the other churches, found a number of obstacles and contradictions in France.

The pope  
continues  
the dis-  
pute.

The more vigour shown by Louis XIV. the greater was the pope's obstinacy in opposing him; and notwithstanding the revocation of the edict of Nantz, which I shall soon have occasion to mention, the quarrel daily increased.

Louis  
could not  
prevent  
the abo-  
lition of  
franchises  
at Rome.

So very far did the privileges of ambassadours extend at Rome, that not only their palaces, but the quarters in which they resided, afforded an asylum from the pursuits of justice. Innocent XI. wanted to reform this abuse, to which all the crowned heads, except France, consented; and the king was very little affected by the examples of the others, saying, that it was he that should serve for an example. The pope, however, by a bull in 1687, abolished the franchises of their quarters, with a threatening of excommunication against whoever should attempt to support them.

Haughty  
behaviour  
of the  
ambassa-  
dour of  
France to  
Innocent  
XI.

This step produced the effect which was naturally to be expected; and Louis, being provoked, gave vent to his resentment. He sent the marquis de Lavardin ambassadour to Rome, who made a public entry, as if in triumph, accompanied by seven or eight hundred military men; and, having taken possession of his quarter, made them go their rounds, and set the sovereign pontiff at defiance. Lavardin was excommunicated; and the French church of St. Louis, where he was received, laid

laid under an interdict. Innocent revenged himself as he could, without being troubled about the fatal consequences which his vengeance might draw upon him.

The people complained, that there were no less than thirty five vacant dioceses in the kingdom ; for the pope had for a long time refused his bulls to those who were appointed by the king : had he not reason then to dread that he would be deprived of the privilege of instituting bishops, and receiving the annates ? A right founded upon a continuation of ancient abuses. While there were such complaints against bulls, censures, and refusals, contrary to the good both of church and state, was there not room to apprehend, that all these difficulties would be suddenly terminated by ceasing to acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction, and by reducing the primacy of the Holy See to what it was in ancient times ? An appeal to a general council on the subject of the bull against the franchises—a proposal made in full parliament to demand a national council, and to restore the vigour of the pragmatic of Charles VII.—the dissatisfaction of the court, and likewise of the episcopate—might all together contribute to bring things to the greatest extremity. France, with a patriarch, would very soon have been weaned from the court of Rome.

If Louis XIV. had been inclined to put that scheme in execution, he could not have been prevented ; but if he was violent and overbearing with regard to temporals, he was equally reserved on every thing which was connected with spirituals. He was satisfied with causing Avignon to be seized in 1688 ; and in 1693 the quarrel was brought to an end, by Innocent XII. giving bulls to the appointed bishops, after each of them had testified by letter his sorrow, and made a formal disavowal of all that had been done against the pope's authority by that famous assembly.

To be at war with the pope, and at the same time desirous of abolishing a sect which was an enemy of the papacy, was a sort of political and religious contradiction,

The danger to which the pope exposed himself.

How the dispute was terminated in 1693.

Project to destroy Calvinism.

tion, which perfectly suited the haughty temper of the monarch. The clergy and the Jesuits had for a long time flattered themselves with the hopes of extirpating Calvinism, which had been always tolerated, but was without any dangerous power, and as peaceable at this time as it had been turbulent before the taking of Rochelle. Even during the troubles of the Fronde, the Calvinists continued in peace. Government might have permitted them to remain so; it profited by their industry and services; there was no room to apprehend any danger from them; and nothing could be easier than to restrain them within the bounds of their duty, since they were made sensible it was for their own advantage.

Missionaries followed by rigorous measures.

The court at first sent some missionaries among them, and lavished money to make proselytes; and, according to custom, greatly exaggerated the good effects of these two methods. It was thought proper, after gaining some, to restrain the rest; and that liberty which they enjoyed was gradually restricted. An alarming partiality was shewn on several occasions. A declaration was published in 1681, for the admission of children of seven years of age among the number of the converted; upon which some Protestant families began to fly the kingdom; and this occasioned severities which rendered the evil more contagious. Some popular commotions followed; and two celebrated preachers, Chamier and Chomel, were broken alive upon the wheel; so that from that moment the idea of martyrdom kindled the flame of enthusiasm.

Severities after the death of Colbert.

Colbert, like a true statesman, protected the Calvinists, from a conviction that they were as useful as the other subjects, and that persecution could produce nothing but mischief; and, if we may use the expression, by his death they were delivered up to the chancellor le Tellier, and his son the marquis de Louvois, two men whose chief maxim was, that every one should bend or tremble at the name of the king. In 1684, they sent troops into the districts inhabited by Protestants; and

Louvois



Louvois wrote—*That it was his majesty's pleasure, that all who did not conform to his religion should suffer the greatest severities.* Such were the outrages committed in consequence of this order, that the Protestants always represented this new persecution as a copy of those which had been raised by the tyrants, who wanted to destroy Christianity in its earliest ages. It is dreadful for a king thus to draw upon himself the hatred of his people, when he could so easily conciliate their love and respect. How many curses has that *dragooning* caused to be denounced upon the head of Louis XIV. and what a hideous picture did the celebrated Saurin draw of him, even in that pulpit where he preached the gospel!

Dragoon-  
ing.

After these arbitrary proceedings, Louis revoked the edict of Nantz, which had been passed by Henry IV. in 1598, and confirmed by Louis XIII. Liberty of conscience was abolished; all the Huguenot churches were destroyed; declarations and decrees of council followed one another in rapid succession; to heighten their despair, an order was issued, even to take their children from them, and put them into the hands of Catholic relations; the ministers were banished; and the rest were prohibited, under the severest penalties, from leaving the kingdom.

1685.  
Revoca-  
tion of the  
edict of  
Nantz.

They no longer looked upon their country but with detestation, and were hurried away by hatred and fanaticism. Notwithstanding the threatenings, punishments, and every precaution to prevent them, above five hundred thousand made their escape, carrying along with them not only immense sums of money, but likewise industry and manufactures by which the kingdom was enriched. The people in the north of Germany, Holland and England, received these useful fugitives with open arms. Their sentiments against the king were heard all over Europe; and they who carried neither arts nor professions among foreigners, carried with them a thirst of vengeance and courage, which they had but too many opportunities of displaying in wars against their

Flight of  
the Hu-  
guenots a  
lot's to the  
kingdom.

their country. The loss of people was, perhaps, of less detriment than the loss of commerce; for a part of those commodities which used to be purchased in France, was from that time manufactured in foreign countries by French refugees, whose industry care was taken to perpetuate.

Opinions  
upon this  
subject.

These were the principal effects of the revocation of the edict of Nantz. It has been celebrated by a hundred panegyrist as one of the most glorious actions of Louis XIV. but panegyrist are not historians, and never see objects but in one light. They have supposed hereby destroyed; but still the number of Calvinists is very considerable. On the other hand, experience has shewn, that queen Christina thought justly, when, in a letter from Rome, she said—*I consider France at present in the light of a diseased person, whose legs and arms have been cut off to cure him of a disorder which might have been entirely remedied by patience and gentleness.* Yet that princess blamed the four articles of the clergy, and maintained the infallibility of the pope; she cannot, therefore, be suspected of having judged rather as a philosopher than a Catholic.

Similar  
severities  
against the  
Vaudois.

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, following the example of Louis, forbid his Protestant subjects, under pain of death, to exercise their religion in public. The Vaudois revolted, of whom three thousand were killed, ten thousand made prisoners, and the rest escaped. It was not long before the duke recalled them, and thought himself happy at their return, by restoring to them their former privileges. Were these poor mountaineers to be compared to the merchants, mechanics, officers, and learned men, irrecoverably lost to France?

About the same time, a blind zeal for religion paved the way for the catastrophe of the Stuarts in England, which was very soon followed by a general war against Louis XIV. We ought to pay our greatest attention to England, when she exhibits those grand scenes in which all the energy of the national character is displayed.

CHAP.

## C H A P. VI.

*End of the Reign of Charles II. of England.—Pretended Popish Plot.—Charles dissolves several Parliaments, and continues absolute till his Death.*

CHARLES II. having been obliged, as we have already observed, to make peace with the Dutch in 1674, his connexions with France, his schemes of absolute government, his desire to favour the Catholics, and his brother the duke of York, the presumptive heir of the crown, being of that religion, constantly occasioned a dangerous ferment. The earl of Shaftesbury, who was chancellor, and the principal author of the bad measures which he had adopted, no sooner saw the king soften, and begin to deviate from the system of the *cabal*, than he immediately joined the malecontents. This perfidy was the more fatal, as, to profound policy, and a depraved heart, the earl added an uncommon share of abilities.

1674 till  
1685.  
Discon-  
tent and  
cabals in  
England.

The general wish was, that Charles would join the confederates against the formidable power of Louis XIV. the interest of the kingdom required it; the parliament offered plentiful supplies, and were deceived by some demonstrations of zeal exhibited by the king, who was chained down by his natural indolence and love of pleasure. The promises of France had their usual effect, and Louis crowned his triumphs by the treaty of Nimeguen. The vexation which this could not fail to produce, was not the only cause of murmuring and animosity. The duke of Lauderdale governed Scotland like a tyrant; where he committed the most enormous iniquities, sparing nobody, but more particularly persecuting the Presbyterians. All the news from that kingdom, and the outcries of the Scots, were but too capable

Charles in  
secret in-  
telligence  
with Lou-  
is XIV.

Oppres-  
sion of  
Scotland.



ble of setting the English in commotion, whose minds were agitated by distrust.

Prejudices  
against the  
Catholics.

In this critical and turbulent state, the credulous multitude greedily caught at chimeras which suited with their prejudices. A phantom of a *popish plot* generated almost incredible disturbances; and a worthless impostor caused that to be received as certain, which common sense ought to have rejected from its absurdity.

The im-  
postor  
Oates.

The infamous wretch was called Titus Oates; he had been accused of perjury in his youth, had turned Roman Catholic, and entered with the Jesuits at St. Omer's, from whence he was very soon dismissed; when resentment, poverty, and wickedness, inspired him with a resolution worthy of himself. He set himself up as an accuser, declaring, that his change of religion was only pretended; that his purpose was to discover the secrets of the Papists and Jesuits, and that he had succeeded; upon which he disclosed a strange mystery, of which we may judge by a simple exposition.

His depo-  
sitions on  
the popish  
plot.

He asserted, that the pope, claiming the sovereignty of England, had entrusted the exercise of his power to the Jesuits; and of course their general had disposed of the principal employments by patents, to which his seal was affixed. Fifty Jesuits, in London, had unanimously determined to cause the king to be assassinated. Father de la Chaize, the confessor of Louis XIV. had deposited ten thousand pounds sterling for the regicide. The crown was to be offered to the duke of York; but if he refused to accept it, as the gift of the pope, his death was likewise determined. That order were the authors of the fire of London in 1666, when they got immense sums of money by plunder; that they intended another fire and a dreadful massacre, the plan for the execution being already formed; and universal destruction was to be spread, that they might govern the kingdom and establish popery.

Coleman  
arrested.

Upon these depositions of Oates, the whole nation was seized with the same frenzy; and Coleman, the dutchess

dutchess of York's secretary, was seized. Among his papers was found a very indiscreet correspondence with Father de la Chaise and the pope's nuncio, which contained obscure hints of projects, conveyed in ambiguous terms, which might be easily turned to a bad sense. Though his letters prove nothing but the indiscreet zeal of a Catholic, they were construed into a certain proof of the conspiracy. The murder of the justice of peace, who took Oates's deposition, strengthened the prejudices and increased the alarm. The streets of London were barricadoed, as in times of the most imminent danger; and the whole city was agitated with commotions of the most unhappy tendency.

Tumult  
in Lon-  
don, 1678.

Charles had too much good sense not to see that this plot was a forgery; but he could neither dispel the error nor resist the torrent; and his chief minister, Danby, even laid the affair before parliament. The parliament, having examined Oates, very soon declared, that the Papists had entered into an infernal conspiracy against religion and the kingdom; and a lodging was assigned to the impostor in the palace of Whitehall, with a pension of twelve hundred pounds sterling. Another villain, that he might be entitled to a similar reward, came and acted the same part, adding new absurdities to the depositions of the former; and these two false witnesses were credited like oracles.

The affair  
laid be-  
fore the  
parlia-  
ment.

The parliament proceeded to the greatest extremities, and established the *test* (an oath) by which popery was accused of idolatry. It is very extraordinary, that the laws of a Christian country should place the Catholics on a level with Pagans! Whoever refused to take the test, was excluded from sitting in parliament. The duke of York in tears, protesting that he would not exercise his religion openly, obtained an exception in his favour, by a majority of only two voices. Danby was next accused of having sold a peace to France, which seemed to be proved by one of his letters, written during the negotiations of Nimeguen; but the king,

Popery  
taxed  
with ido-  
latry by  
a test.

Danby  
accused.

Charles  
dissolves  
the par-  
liament.

The mi-  
nister pro-  
secuted by  
another  
parlia-  
ment.

Bill to ex-  
clude the  
duke of  
York  
from the  
crown.

Habeas  
corpus  
act.

king, with his own hand, had added—*This letter was written by my order.* The secrets of the ministry would have employed the audacious turbulence of the commons, if Charles had not at last dissolved that parliament, to which he had formerly been indebted for so many important services : it was that of 1661.

A second parliament, which was assembled in 1679, followed the paths of the first, renewed the accusation of the minister, though provided with a general pardon from the king, and maintained, that a pardon from the crown could not save him from an impeachment by the commons. They declared, that if the person accused did not appear, he should be deemed guilty ; upon which Danby presented himself, and was put in prison. This was only a prelude to the attempts of parliament.

It was in vain that the king persuaded his brother to withdraw from the kingdom, in hopes that his absence would lessen the hatred which his character and religion had excited. In vain did he admit the popular leaders into his council, that he might recover the confidence of the people ; and, though Shaftesbury was created president of that council, he was no less zealous against the royal family. Charles saw that they intended to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and he endeavoured to ward off the blow. He offered to limit the prerogative in such a manner, that the religion of that prince could not give any umbrage ; but all his offers and instances could not prevent a bill from being passed by the commons, which excluded the duke from the succession. If Charles had entertained that regard for his queen, Catharine of Portugal, which he ought to have had for a virtuous wife, or had she brought him any children, he would not have been exposed to such dreadful storms.

The famous *habeas corpus* act, against arbitrary imprisonment, was the work of this parliament. By it, every prisoner, upon his own requisition, must be carried before



before a court of justice; accused and tried within a period limited by the law, and if restored to liberty by the judges, cannot again be imprisoned for the same cause. The bill passed, and is at present one of the foundations of English liberty.

Charles, finding that he could not put a stop to the seditious proceedings of the parliament, thought proper to dissolve them; but that did not restore tranquillity. The Scotch Presbyterians had assassinated the primate, archbishop of St. Andrews; and new severities made them revolt and take up arms. The duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son, was sent to reduce them; and, as these fanatics had no leaders but their clergy, he met with little difficulty; but the ferment was renewed in England. The *Whigs* and *Tories*, names which ever since that time have been famous, divided the whole nation. The first opposed the court, and demanded that a parliament should be immediately assembled; while the second testified a profound respect for the will of the sovereign. The Whigs carried their point, and procured the calling of the third parliament, which began with acts of violence against the Tories, without even respecting the *habeas corpus* act. False zealots for liberty always aim at becoming oppressors.

Coleman and six Jesuits had been condemned and executed on account of the popish plot; about which no doubt was allowed to be entertained. Five Catholic peers, accused of the same offence, waited their sentence in confinement. The eldest of them, the viscount Strafford, an old man of a virtuous, irreproachable character, fell a sacrifice to injustice. Though his accusers were not worthy of credit, and their depositions absurd, yet he was condemned even by the house of peers. He died like a hero, protesting his innocence to the last; with which the people were so struck, that the illusion almost instantly vanished; at least it put a stop to such odious prosecutions. Oates was convicted of being an impostor in the reign of James II. and condemned to

be put in the pillory, and afterwards to perpetual imprisonment; but was, in the sequel, rewarded by king William.

Fourth  
parlia-  
ment like-  
wise dis-  
solved.

The complaisance which the want of money obliged Charles to shew, did not prevent the commons from continuing their arrogance, and desiring that the bill of exclusion, levelled at the duke of York, should be passed into a law; declaring, that, unless it was done, they would not grant the supplies; so that the king found it necessary to dissolve the parliament. Charles summoned a fourth parliament to meet at Oxford, where he hoped the same seditious spirit would not prevail as had done in London: but his expectations were frustrated; for they likewise insisted on the bill of exclusion, and even rejected an expedient which the most violent should have approved; it was to banish the duke of York for life, who might have the title of king, but without any power, and the next heir to govern in quality of regent. This formidable parliament was likewise dissolved in 1681.

The king  
becomes  
absolute  
by means  
of econo-  
my.

Charles, being resolved never to expose himself any more to the attempts of his parliaments, adopted the economical system of Elizabeth, which was so advantageous for the crown. He lessened his expenses considerably, and thereby added to his funds; and, in proportion as his wants were diminished, rendered his authority respectable: in one word, he became absolute over the three kingdoms. His agreeable temper and pleasing manners might have made him adored by his subjects; but, unfortunately, he yielded to his inclination for despotism, or rather gave himself up to the guidance of his brother the duke of York, who spread terrour through the whole kingdom. London was stripped of its privileges, and Scotland groaned under the most oppressive tyranny. The king's brother was more the sovereign, and better served, than Charles himself, which occasioned the following expression of the famous poet Waller:—*Charles, in resentment to his parliament,*

Abuse of  
power,  
owing to  
the influ-  
ence of  
the duke  
of York.

liament, who would not suffer the duke of York to succeed him, was resolved that he should reign beforehand.

A conspiracy, formed by the earl of Shaftesbury, in which the duke of Monmouth, the lords Ruffel, Grey, Howard, and others, entered, might have overturned the government, if the impetuous temper of Shaftesbury, provoked by some unforeseen delays, had not made him withdraw to Holland. The rest were betrayed, and Howard obtained a pardon by discovering his accomplices. Ruffel, who was the idol of the people, suffered upon a scaffold with the greatest courage. Sidney, who, by his vast genius and principles of liberty, had made a figure in the time of the republic, suffered the same fate with the same constancy, and congratulated himself that he was dying for a cause which he had always supported as the best. The duke of Monmouth was pardoned; but, having retracted his confession, was obliged to fly from court in the year 1683.

Conspiracy discovered.

Deaths of Ruffel & Sidney.

The king ruled with absolute authority till his death; and the duke of York, without having taken the test, resumed the employment of lord high admiral. The doctrine of passive obedience, or non-resistance, seemed to be established on the ruins of the parliamentary principles. The university of Oxford even condemned the following propositions, among many others:—*All civil authority is originally derived from the people. Self preservation is the fundamental law of nature, and puts a stop to the efficacy of other laws, when opposed to it.* To what lengths could not monarchy have reached, if it had fallen into abler hands than those of Charles II? That prince, who was of an amiable character, and had a great share of abilities, but imprudent, and corrupted by luxury, died at the age of forty nine, in the year 1685. During his life he seemed to be a Deist; but at his death he shewed himself a Catholic, by receiving the sacraments of the church of Rome. His brother was acknowledged, without any difficulty, under the title of James II.

Principles of passive obedience.

Death of Charles II.



## C H A P. VII.

*James II. draws upon himself the Hatred of the English.—  
Deihroned by William, Prince of Orange.—The English  
Constitution fixed.*

1685 to  
1689.  
James II.  
exposed to  
the hatred  
of the na-  
tion.

**J**AMES II. possessed both virtue and courage, though with much more slender abilities than his brother, yet not without capacity. He might have been one of the greatest kings in Europe, if he had shewn more regard to the religion and laws of his country; but an unfortunate passion for arbitrary power, and an indiscreet zeal for the church of Rome, exposed him to the hatred of his people. Instead of regulating his conduct from experience, he let himself be hurried away by his principles; and in a reign of four years committed so many faults, that he may be called the instrument of his own misfortunes.

Good be-  
ginnings  
badly sup-  
ported.

His first proceedings, and his language at his accession, promised an equitable government, and all was joy and confidence. The hearts of the people seemed to fly to meet him, and a moderate share of prudence would have removed every subject of uneasiness; but these prejudices in his favour were of no long continuance. Though the council was composed of Protestants, it was known that Romish priests, and more particularly Jesuits, were the secret advisers of the monarch. What influence was not to be expected from their suggestions?

The par-  
liament  
favour  
him.

He soon shewed a contempt for the laws, by publicly assisting at mass, and by raising taxes without the authority of parliament; but that body, according to custom, was soon assembled. The tories or royalists prevailed there, and James had every thing to hope. In his speech to parliament, he renewed the promise of following

following the established laws, and maintaining the Protestant religion; but at the same time he gave them to understand (and it was a bad prognostic) that he could do without a parliament, if he found them unwilling to grant supplies. They assured him that he should have the same revenue which was granted to his brother Charles; twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling.

The duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles, rebelled against the king his uncle, whom in his manifesto he called a tyrant and popish usurper. The parliament declared the duke guilty of high treason, and granted forty thousand pounds to the king to quash the rebellion. This proof of zeal was followed by the defeat and taking of Monmouth, who was executed. James let slip an excellent opportunity of making himself beloved for his clemency; but the great misfortune was, that he made himself detested by his barbarity. On pretence of punishing the guilty, an inhuman officer of the army (colonel Kirke) and still more Jefferies, the lord chief justice, bathed themselves in blood: even several women of rank were put to death, for having charitably received some of the fugitives; and Jefferies, though loaded with universal execration, was appointed chancellor of the kingdom.

Duke of  
Monmouth's  
rebellion.

Barbarous  
execu-  
tions.

However, all was quiet and submissive. The parliament of Scotland no longer breathed the spirit of independence; but, immersed in slavery, by their acts acknowledged the *absolute* power of the king, and in every thing conformed to his pleasure. The English parliament granted him a larger supply than was asked, though the king had given a general dispensation from taking the test, which was established during the former reign, against the Roman Catholic religion. But this dispensation, which the commons durst not examine, was taken into consideration by the house of peers; upon which James, who could not bear the least shadow of opposition, prorogued the parliament.

All ap-  
peared  
submis-  
sive.

Dispen-  
sation  
from the  
test.

Upon

Father  
Peters in  
too great  
credit.

Upon this, the alarm against Popery began to revive, from apprehensions founded on the most striking proofs. Father Peters, a Jesuit, the king's confessor, an intriguing zealot, was the soul of the privy council. From the beginning, the Spanish ambassadour represented the danger of placing excessive confidence in the priests. James asking him if the king of Spain did not consult his confessor, the ambassadour frankly replied—*Yes, Sir; and that is the very reason our affairs' succeed so badly.*

Causes of  
apprehen-  
sion in the  
nation.

The duke of Ormond, and other Protestants of high rank, lost their influence; several noblemen and ministers embraced the Romish religion. The dispensing power, which had hitherto been looked upon as the royal prerogative, became a theme of dispute after the examination of it had been prohibited. This delicate question threw men's minds into a ferment; and on this occasion the king's imprudence overleaped all bounds.

Great  
faults of  
the king,  
from zeal  
for the  
Romish  
religion.

At the time when the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and the clamours of the French refugees, had irritated the implacable enemies of the Romish religion, the king established an arbitrary tribunal, like the high commission court of Elizabeth, where the bishop of London was suspended, for having spared a clergyman who had preached against the doctrine of the church of Rome. He violated the privileges of the universities, by introducing Roman Catholics; and granted an universal toleration, of which it was evident that the Catholics were the true object. He sent an ambassadour extraordinary to the pope, though all correspondence with Rome was forbidden as treasonable; and received the pope's nuncio in London, who consecrated bishops, published pastoral instructions, and seemed to live in a country submissive to his authority. At last the instances of that prince's misconduct were so frequent and dangerous, that even Innocent XI. blamed the excess of his zeal, which the court of Rome foresaw would produce fatal consequences.



Six bishops refused to publish the declaration for liberty of conscience, because it was illegal, and were therefore immediately sent to prison. The people, penetrated with respect and sorrow, flocked to see them pass; and the guard that conducted them shewed they were affected with the same sentiments. Notwithstanding the influence of the court, they had a fair trial, were acquitted by the judges, and the people openly manifested their joy; an evident sign of a ferment, ready to set the kingdom in a flame, which became more violent from new abuses of power. In 1687, a prince of Wales, an heir to the crown, was born; and this event occasioned reports injurious to the queen's reputation.

Prosecution of six bishops.

A general ferment.

James had two daughters, Mary and Anne; the first married to William, prince of Orange, the second to prince George of Denmark. A revolution might raise William to the throne of England; but that profound, ambitious politician seemed to be quite otherwise engaged, not in the least intermeddling in the affairs of his father in law; on the contrary, testifying the strongest attachment to him, entering into the design of humbling Louis XIV. and forming the celebrated league of Augsburgh, which I shall have occasion to mention afterwards. However, he was not less inclined to take advantage of the discontents of the English, who had already applied for his assistance; besides, the birth of the prince of Wales was an additional motive for breaking with a father in law whom he did not love. He disapproved of the conduct of James; he had lost all hopes of the succession; every thing invited him to take violent measures; he broke with the king, and secured success by his prudence.

Political conduct of the prince of Orange, son in law of James.

The king had made himself detested by all parties; a certain proof of bad government. The Tories, and even the bishops, who from principle were devoted to the crown, were almost of the same opinion with the Whigs. The church of England and the Presbyterians forgot their religious disputes, to unite against a common

All parties against the king.

William flatters all parties, & arms in secret.

mon oppression; William flattered all parties, and his emissaries procured him a number of adherents, while he was employed in making immense preparations for war; but, what is most astonishing, the secret was inviolably preserved. The armament of the stadtholder seemed to threaten France, and it was natural to ascribe it to the league of Augsburgh.

James refuses the offers of Louis XIV.

Yet the count d'Avaux, ambassadour of Louis XIV. at the Hague, penetrated the secret, and sent advice of it; when Louis prevented the king of England by an offer of a fleet, and to make a diversion in the Low Countries; but James would not give credit to the information, and, haughtily refusing these necessary succours, lulled himself into security on the very brink of the precipice: an inconceivable blindness, especially at a time when the English fleet had mutinied, and the army was ready to revolt, because the attempts against the laws and religion of the kingdom were not discontinued.

1688.  
He opens his eyes when too late.

William's manifesto.

Certain accounts having at last arrived from Holland, that the prince of Orange was ready to invade England, the king, struck dumb, trembling and dispirited, retracted his declarations, and attempted to repair his faults, when it was too late. William, in a manifesto, gave a lively picture of the English grievances, and declared that he intended to come with an army to save the nation from the pernicious counsels with which the king was beset, to see a free parliament assembled, to support the liberty of the nation, and inquire into the legitimacy of the prince of Wales. This manifesto was quite conformable to the general wish, and was the signal of a speedy revolution.

Sudden revolution.  
The king flies.

William set out with a fleet of about five hundred sail, in which he had embarked an army of more than fourteen thousand men. He had scarcely landed, on the fifteenth of November, when numbers of the English nobility and officers hastened to join him. Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, the favourite and lieutenant

tenant general of James, did not hesitate to betray his unhappy master. The prince of Denmark, his son in law, and even his beloved daughter, the princess Anne, cruelly abandoned him; upon which he lost all courage, distrusted his army, dreaded his parliament, and fled, even without trying his fortune. He was taken, and refused an interview by the prince of Orange, who sent him prisoner to Rochester, a town near the sea coast; but as such a prisoner could not fail greatly to embarrass him, he facilitated his escape into France.

The more that this attempt against a sovereign, and a father in law, was offensive to nature and the law of nations, the more did William, in other respects the friend of liberty, take care to avoid the reproach of being an usurper. The parliament was summoned, and met simply as a *convention*, because the name of *parliament* supposes their being convoked by the king. The commons declared, that "James, having attempted to overturn the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the *original contract* between king and people, having violated the fundamental laws, by the advice of Jesuits and other pernicious counsellors, and having fled out of the kingdom, hath abdicated his government; the throne was therefore declared vacant." After some keen disputes in the house of lords on the reality of the national contract, on the violation of that contract, and, lastly, on the throne being vacant, the declaration of the commons was received without amendment. This act is one of the most remarkable events in history.

They came next to deliberate whether a king or a regent should be appointed; and upon this occasion the ambition of the prince of Orange was unmasked. He declared to some of the nobility, that he would no longer interfere in the affairs of the kingdom, whether they settled a regency, or assigned the crown to the princess Mary, his wife, the eldest daughter of James; in a word, if he was only to enjoy a precarious dignity, attached

1689.

The throne declared vacant.

Parliamentary debates.

The crown given to William and Mary jointly.



attached to the life of another person. The parliament could not draw back; the two daughters of the king accommodated matters with the prince; and it was enacted, that the crown should be possessed by William and Mary jointly; that William should have the sole administration; that the princess Anne should succeed after their death, and her posterity after those of Mary.

Bill of  
rights.

To this was added a declaration, fixing the rights of the subjects, and restraining the royal prerogative; of which the following are the most essential articles. The king cannot suspend the laws, nor the execution of the laws, without the consent of parliament. He can neither erect an ecclesiastical nor any other tribunal. He cannot levy money which has not been granted by parliament, nor in any other manner, or for a longer time, than has been granted. He cannot raise or maintain an army, without the consent of parliament. The subjects have a right to present petitions to the king, for which they can neither be imprisoned nor prosecuted. Protestant subjects may keep such arms for their defence as are allowed by law. Elections to be free, and the language or debates of parliament to be examined only in parliament. Excessive bail not to be exacted, nor exorbitant fines imposed, nor too severe punishments inflicted. The juries on trials for high treason must be members of the communities; and to remedy abuses, it is necessary that parliaments be frequently assembled.

New oath  
of supremacy.

To the old oath of supremacy, a new form was substituted, which declares, that *No prince, prelate, state, or foreign sovereign, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, in the kingdom.* This was an eternal divorce from popery.

The royal  
prerogative al-  
ways very  
extensive.

The English constitution was fixed in this manner by the national assembly; and probably the power of the crown would have been still more limited, even as much as we shall see that it was in Sweden, if they had  
not

not been impressed with a dread of William's army, or their deliberations had not been influenced by his address. A king, who has it in his power to assemble, to prorogue, or dissolve, the parliament; to refuse his consent to bills, without which they cannot have the force of laws; the power of nominating the members of the council, the great offices, and all the chief employments of the state; whose revenue exceeds three millions sterling, without reckoning the benefices of the church; who of course has immense means of attaching to his person men capable of serving him; the right of making war or peace, of administering justice, or the general government of the kingdom, without being accountable, ought naturally to give umbrage to a people who are excessively jealous of liberty.

But the royal authority has a very strong counterpoise in the necessity of having recourse to parliament for supplies; in that spirit of liberty which is ever watchful over the proceedings of government, and always ready to censure them with freedom; in the empire of the laws, which are infinitely dear and respectable in the eyes of a high spirited people, who make their happiness to depend upon them; in the prevailing opinion, which is capable of setting the whole state in commotion, if the court has the imprudence to thwart it; in the energy of that elevated character and depth of understanding which distinguishes these islanders; and lastly, in the remembrance of those revolutions which have so frequently shaken the throne.

What necessarily limits it,

William, who was more a king in Holland than in England, experienced, during the whole of his reign, how difficult it is to govern the English. At first his revenue was granted to him only for a short and limited time; they determined the amount of his household expenses, and resolved that the remainder of the public revenue should be subject to parliamentary inspection. In one word, he had reason to repent of having been desirous of a crown, which to him was only productive of vexation.

William III. always vexed by his subjects.

We

James II.  
makes  
himself  
contemp-  
tible in  
France.

We shall see Louis XIV. at war with all Europe; and employing the greatest efforts to restore James II. who appeared no longer any thing but an abject prince, destitute both of courage and prudence, and devoted totally to the Jesuits; even France, the witness of his debasement, deeming him deserving of his misfortunes. While duke of York, he appeared capable of governing; but when king, he seemed to have lost all the merit of the duke of York. So much can misfortune depress the minds of men, to whom power and opposition communicate vigour! So much does piety, calculated to excite men to the discharge of their duty, require understanding in the superiour ranks of life, to enable them to distinguish between real duties and the mere forms of devotion!



## EPOCH A OF LOUIS XIV.

## BOOK III.

[From the War of 1688, to the Congress of Utrecht, in 1712.]

## CHAP. I.

*League of Augsburgh against Louis XIV.—He maintains a successful War against almost all Europe.*

OF all the enemies whom Louis XIV. had drawn upon himself, there was not one more to be dreaded, from his abilities and implacable hatred, than the famous prince of Orange, who was at that time despised, upon too slight grounds, by the French, because he had not been fortunate in war. By exaggerating the ambition of Louis, representing him as aiming at universal monarchy, insisting upon his violent attempts to make the consequences dreaded, he for a long time added fuel to that fire which was soon to set all Europe in a flame. By the league of Augsburgh in 1686, which was confirmed the next year at Venice, he united the confederates of the last war to maintain the treaties of Munster and Nimeguen. Pope Innocent XI. without having any communication with that heretical prince, seconded his views; and the misunderstanding between the courts of France and Rome daily increased.

Louis was desirous to procure the electorate of Cologne to cardinal Furstenberg, bishop of Strasburgh, who was entirely devoted to his interests; and, notwithstanding that several of the canons protested against it, he so far succeeded as to get him chosen coadjutor; but the election was declared void by Innocent. A prince of Bavaria,

The famous prince of Orange stirs up Europe against Louis.

League of Augsburgh.

Fruitless attempt to make a friend of France elector of Cologne.

Bavaria, who was only seventeen years of age, and already bishop of Ratibon, being provided with a dispensation (for politics are not scrupulous in attending to the canons) was afterwards preferred to the cardinal, with the approbation of the whole empire. To this motive for going to war were added two others : a claim was fruitlessly set up to the real or pretended rights of the dutchess of Orleans, the princess Palatine, for the succession of her brother the elector Palatine ; and the empire had refused to change the truce of Ratibon into a perpetual peace. So much was not necessary to make the king take up arms ; who, being provoked at the league of Augsburgh, and anxious to prevent its designs, broke the truce, and attacked Germany.

Other  
grievances  
alleged  
by  
the king.

He breaks  
the truce.

Leopold  
carries on  
a success-  
ful war a-  
gainst the  
Turks.

Crown of  
Hungary  
heredi-  
tary.

1688.  
France  
takes up  
arms.

Taking of  
Philips-  
burgh.

Palatinate  
laid waste

The emperor Leopold found himself in a more advantageous situation than formerly. Buda had been taken from the Turks by assault in 1686 ; and being defeated the following year at Mohacz by the duke of Lorrain and the elector of Bavaria, they lost Sclavonia. The states of Hungary had lately abrogated the old law, by which the sovereign, in case of a violation of the privileges of the people, might be deposed, making the crown hereditary in the male line of the Austrian family, and consented to receive imperial garrisons. This was owing to the emperor's having confirmed the Hungarian privileges, and incorporating into that kingdom the conquests gained from the Turks. Besides, his eldest son Joseph was crowned king of Hungary : but, however, it was necessary to continue the war on that side, which made a diversion favourable to Louis XIV. While the imperialists took Belgrade and subdued Servia, the dauphin, with an army of an hundred thousand men, carried universal dismay into the empire. After a siege of nineteen days the dauphin made himself master of Philipsburgh ; Mentz, Manheim, Spire, Worms and Treves, were already in the hands of the French ; and, in 1689, the Palatinate was cruelly given up to the flames. More than forty cities, and

an infinite number of villages, were burnt, and all that fine country laid waste. What a dreadful monument of what is called the rights of war, or rather the merciless severity of Louvois! for it was he that determined the king to issue these cruel orders. Could he think it impossible for the enemy to penetrate on some occasion into his own kingdom? And if they did, what reprisals were not to be expected? Sound policy will always respect the cause of humanity.

At this time the fugitive James II. without having fought for the preservation of his crown, sought an asylum in France, where his life was more like that of a Jesuit than a monarch. The indecent expression of le Tellier, archbishop of Reims, is a proof of the small degree of esteem in which he was held:—*There is a simpleton has given three kingdoms for a mass!* Undoubtedly, if he had added the qualities of a prince and a hero to his religion, it would have rendered him worthy of admiration. Louis displayed his magnificence in favour of James, who appeared as contemptible as the other appeared great.

A powerful French squadron was sent to transport the dethroned monarch into Ireland, and he was speedily followed by fresh succours. He found the Irish inclined to serve him, and was received with transports of joy in Dublin; but the more the Catholics testified their zeal, the less did he attempt to conciliate the minds of the Protestants. Londonderry, an inconsiderable town, where the Protestant religion prevailed, where their minister, Walker, gave his orders, and inspired the inhabitants with enthusiasm, was the first rock upon which he split; he raised the siege of that place, after having lost nine thousand men. The next year (1690) Tourville, vice admiral of France, gained a complete victory over the united fleets of England and Holland off Dieppe; a victory which secured the empire of the sea to France for almost two years; but this advantage was of no benefit to the unfortunate James, whose whole conduct was nothing but a series of blunders.

Conduct  
of James  
II. in  
France.

He passes  
into Ire-  
land,  
where he  
takes  
wrong  
measures.

Siege of  
Londonderry.

1690.  
The  
French  
masters  
of the sea.

William



Battle of  
the Boyne.

William went over to Ireland, and James wanted to risk an engagement; the two armies, having each about forty thousand men, came in sight of one another on the opposite banks of the Boyne. While William was examining the ground, a cannon ball grazed his shoulder; and the enemy, believing he was killed, gave vent to their joy; but having encouraged his army, by riding along the lines, he gave the order of battle for the next day. The action was decisive; and he passed the river, exposed to the greatest dangers. The marshal Schomberg, who fought on his side at the head of the French refugees, lost his life, without that misfortune having the consequences which might have been apprehended. The Irish, who are almost always easily defeated in their own country, fled at the first onset; only the French fought with courage, and retreated in good order. James did not even appear, though it was of so much consequence to him to set an example; and France very soon witnessed his return, still less deserving of the sacrifices she had made in his favour.

James  
defeated.

Ireland  
reduced  
by Wil-  
liam.

Ireland was entirely subdued by William's generals in two campaigns. Though Louis sent three thousand men and an immense quantity of provisions to Limerick, that important place capitulated. A general amnesty and liberty of conscience, granted to the Irish, were the means employed to attach them to the new government; but, however, twelve thousand of them took the advantage of the permission which was granted for them to retire, and France became their country; but they did not carry thither the wealth and industry which she had lost by the emigration of the Protestants.

Enemies  
of Louis  
XIV.

Louis already had England, Holland, Spain, the duke of Savoy, almost all Italy, in league with the emperor, and the greatest part of the empire against him; but such were still the resources and vigour of his government during this war, that his arms continued to have the superiority. We shall only give a hasty sketch of the most memorable events.

In

In 1689, Charles V. duke of Lorrain, and the elector of Bavaria, retook Bonn and Mentz. These towns, though badly fortified, were admirably defended; the first by the baron d'Asfield, who was mortally wounded in a general assault; the second by the marquis (afterwards marshal) d'Uxelles, who, after having made twenty one sallies, was obliged to yield for want of powder. At his return he was hissed in the theatre at Paris: the French were so accustomed to victory, they judged from prejudice.

Sieges of  
Bonn &  
Mentz.

That same year the prince of Waldeck defeated the marshal d'Humieres at Valcour in the Low Countries; but he was in his turn defeated at Fleurus, in 1690, by the marshal de Luxemburgh, who had been chosen by the king, though hated by Louvois. The battle of Leuses, in 1691, where twenty eight squadrons defeated seventy five; the bloody battle of Steenkirk, in 1692, and of Nerwinden, where William was defeated, in 1693, completed the glory of Luxemburgh, the worthy pupil of the great Condé. In these last actions some young princes of the blood charged the enemy with heroic valour, and the son of the famous Turenne was killed in following their example. The king in person took Mons and Namur; which last William, though at the head of a great army, could not relieve.

Cam-  
paigns of  
the mar-  
shal Lux-  
emburgh.

Battles of  
Steenkirk  
and Ner-  
winden.

On the other hand, the marshal Catinat, a philosopher and warrior, who was always the same in every degree of fortune, gained a complete victory over the duke of Savoy at Stafarda, which was followed by the taking of Suza, Villafranca, Montealbano, Nice, Montmelian, &c. in 1691. Being obliged to remain upon the defensive, because some of his troops were recalled, yet he attacked and defeated the duke at Marseilles, as soon as he had sufficient force to engage him without being guilty of an act of imprudence (1693). The French then retaliated upon Piedmont, the ravages which that prince had committed in Dauphiny.

Cam-  
paigns of  
Catinat.

Battles of  
Stafarda  
and la  
Marseille.

War in  
Germany  
and Catalo-  
nia.

The king  
of Spain  
in want  
of money.

Louis, ex-  
hausted  
by his  
victories,  
offers  
peace.

1695.  
William  
retakes  
Namur in  
the same  
manner as  
it had  
been tak-  
en by  
Louis.

A French army under the mareschal de Lorges was likewise successful in Germany, where the war was carried on with less spirit : but the mareschal de Noailles had much greater in Catalonia, where he took Roses in 1693, Palamos, Girona, &c. in 1694, after having gained a battle on the banks of the Ter. The king of Spain, being destitute of money to pay his army, was obliged to retrench the third of the appointments of his officers, even the military ; to sell the vice royalties of Mexico and Peru ; and to borrow at the rate of fifteen *per cent.* Both his finances and credit were ruined, and Spain for a long time had exhausted the New World of its gold for the advantage of other nations. This monarchy resembled a great colossus tumbling into dust.

But France by her victories gained only glory, and ruined herself by empty triumphs ; of which Louis was certainly sensible, since, in 1694, he made an offer of peace and the restitution of his conquests. Whether it proceeded from distrust, ambition, or hatred, the enemy refused at that time what they accepted in 1697 at Ryswick. Louvois and Luxemburgh were both dead ; losses difficult to be repaired, especially as the war was not terminated. The first, though too severe, and a friend to violent measures, yet excelled in a number of the duties of a minister : the second, notwithstanding the envy with which he was persecuted, gloriously supplied the loss of the great Condé and Turenne.

William III. who had been often defeated, and therefore was but too little esteemed in France, though he could most wonderfully recover a loss in the field, clearly shewed that success in war does not always prove the abilities of a general. The taking of Namur by Louis XIV. in the presence of an army of fourscore thousand men commanded by king William, was looked upon as a prodigy ; and this last was exposed to ridicule, because he could not save the place ; yet he retook it, notwithstanding the greatest obstructions. The mareschal de Boufflers, equally eminent as a good citi-



zen and excellent general, had thrown himself into the place with seven regiments, and the garrison was already numerous: the marechal de Villeroi was on the banks of the Meuse, with an army of fourscore thousand men, but Villeroi did nothing; and though the siege was long and warm, William at last triumphed. The parliament of England had vexed the king, yet they lavished immense sums from hatred to France, and granted four millions seven hundred thousand pounds sterling for the support of this campaign. The supplies during this reign were enormous, and the war could not be maintained but by exhausting the kingdom.

After the famous battle of la Hogue, fought in 1692, Battle of la Hogue in 1692. the hopes of James were almost entirely annihilated. Two powerful French squadrons were to have joined to make a descent upon England; but their junction was prevented by a contrary wind. Tourville, with only forty four ships, was attacked by near an hundred of the enemy; yet he sustained an action of ten hours before he yielded. The French, being pursued two days, lost fourteen large ships, and the empire of the sea. Loss of France. *Is Tourville safe?* said the king, on hearing of the engagement; *as for the ships, we shall easily find more; but it is not easy to find such an officer.* It was one of the best qualities of Louis, to honour merit, and animate the zeal of his servants.

Dieppe, Havre, St. Malo, Calais, and Dunkirk, were Bombardments. bombarded by the English. What had the French got by inventing bombketches? Their *infernal machine*, Infernal machine. still more dreadful if it had succeeded, happily miscarried. Though at a great distance, by its explosion all the windows of St. Malo were broken, a number of roofs thrown down, and the earth shaken to the distance of three leagues. France revenged herself for these bombardments upon Brussels, which belonged to Spain; so that, even in that polite age, war was still accompanied with cruelties.

Expedi-  
tions into  
Asia, A-  
merica,  
&c.

It even reached to the extremities of the earth; for wherever the Europeans carried their admirable industry, their destructive animosities were likewise to be found. The Dutch took Pondicherry from France, the English ravaged St. Domingo, and the French laid waste Jamaica. Pointis, who commanded a squadron, and joined the buccaneers, surprised Carthagena, where the Spaniards sustained a loss of twenty millions of livres. Duguai Trouin and John Bart, two captains of privateers deserving of the highest military honours, destroyed the commerce of those enemies who ruined that of France.

Creation  
of the e-  
lectorate  
of Hano-  
ver.

A remarkable division started up in the empire on the creation of a ninth electorate, in the year 1692, in favour of the duke of Brunswick Lunenburgh Hanover. The emperor had given him the investiture; but the princes protested, and even entered into a league at Ratisbon. If Leopold had not suspended the effects of the investiture in 1693, a great part of Germany would probably have turned their arms against him, instead of fighting against France. This ninth electorate continued to be a subject of disturbance till the reign of the emperor Joseph, when, in the year 1708, the states gave their consent. We need not be surprised at the war going on but slowly on that side; the Germans were very inactive, and Louis carried his greatest strength into another quarter.

Disturb-  
ances on  
that ac-  
count.

## C H A P. II.

*Peace of Ryſwick neceſſary to Louis XIV. though a Conqueror.—Peace of Carlowitz, the Terms of which were dictated to the Turks.*

**T**HIS war, which was begun without neceſſity, and originated in the hatred Louis XIV. had drawn upon himſelf by the terrouſe he excited, and which he might have avoided, had he been ſatisfied with becoming the arbiter of Europe, was leſs to be aſcribed to his own diſpoſition, than to the deſpotic temper and violent counſels of his miniſter Louvois; but though crowned with victory, occaſioned infinite miſchief to the kingdom, and oppreſſions to the people. It was only ſupported by taxes and expedients ruinous to the nation; and the obſtinacy of the enemy made them decline a peace for which they ought earneſtly to have wiſhed. It became neceſſary to detach ſome of the members from the confederacy, and to divide thoſe, who, while united, continued inflexible; and at length the pliant, ambitious policy of Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, yielded to the views and intereſt of the court of France.

He was gained by granting to him whatever he could deſire; the reſtitution of his dominions, Pignerol, (though raſed to the ground) the honours of ſovereignty, four millions of money, and the marriage of his daughter with the young duke of Burgundy, ſon of the dauphin. This treaty was concluded by Catinat, to which Innocent XII. (Pignatelli) who was as favourable to France as his predeceſſor had been averſe from it, not a little contributed, by determining the duke of Savoy. What the pope had chiefly at heart was the tranquillity

War  
ruined  
France,  
though  
victorious.

Obſtinacy  
of the  
enemy.

1696.  
Louis  
gains the  
duke of  
Savoy.

Innocent  
XII. con-  
tributes  
to it.



traquillity of Italy, and he wished that it would remain neuter ; but the allies having refused to consent, Victor Amadeus joined Louis XIV.

1697.  
Negotia-  
tions and  
treaty of  
Ryswick.

The grand alliance was the more disconcerted by his defection, as Louis still had four armies on foot ; and the duke of Vendôme took Barcelona, after having defeated the Spaniards. The negotiations were carried on at Ryswick, near the Hague, under the mediation of Sweden : that of the pope, which had been formerly refused for the peace of Nimeguen, was again rejected, and the court of Rome was destined to lose all influence in the affairs of Europe. Four treaties, which were concluded towards the end of the year 1697, secured the general peace, the conditions of which seemed to be humiliating to Louis, though proposed by him after gaining battles and making conquests.

France  
makes  
conces-  
sions, as  
if she had  
been de-  
feated.

That prince restored to Spain all that she had lost by the war, Luxemburgh, Mons, Aeth, Courtrai, Barcelona, &c. with all that the chambers of Metz and Brisack had reunited to the royal domain. This was the sole produce of these violent reunions ! He acknowledged William as king of England, who was his personal enemy, and looked upon in France as a perfidious usurper, whose ambition had kindled so fatal a flame. With regard to Holland, he adhered to the terms agreed on at Munster and Nimeguen. To the empire he restored Kehl and Philippsburgh, and to the emperor Friburgh and Brisack : he consented to rase the fortifications which had been erected beyond the Rhine, and abandoned the reunions which had been made out of Alsace ; but insisted, that in those places which had been reunited to the domain of the crown, the Catholic religion should be permitted to remain upon the same footing in which it was at that time ; but the Protestants with difficulty consented.

Leopold,  
duke of  
Lorrain,  
a great  
prince.

Last of all, he restored Leopold, duke of Lorrain, the son of Charles V. but not before his towns were dismantled. Though Leopold, if considered only as to  
the

the extent of his power, is but a little prince, yet when regarded with the eyes of wisdom and humanity, he is great. Solely employed in effecting the happiness of his subjects, he made them forget the miseries of war, and those which had been brought upon them by the absence of their sovereign; he procured them abundance; he introduced arts, learning, with all the blessings of nature and of an agreeable and peaceful society. During seven hundred years of glory and sovereignty, his illustrious family had not produced one prince so deserving of praise. The following admirable expression, which has been quoted—*I would resign my crown tomorrow, if I could do no more good*—was the language of his sentiments; sentiments with which all who are invested with power ought to be inspired.

The peace of Ryswick, compared with that of Nimègue, where Louis XIV. makes peace from necessity, where Louis XIV. makes peace from necessity, excited the murmurs of a people elated with so many victories, who were provoked at seeing the fruits of their triumphs sacrificed to the conquered. Some people greatly extolled the king's moderation; while others falsely imagined, that by his policy he hoped to pave the way for succeeding to the crown of Spain; but it is now known, that, having waked from the dreams of pride, he yielded to the real necessities of his subjects and of the kingdom.

Ever since he had adopted the fatal custom of keeping up armies, much more numerous than formerly, the expenses of the war had been enormous. And what was gained by this custom, but to ruin himself, while he forced the enemy to ruin themselves, by obliging them to increase the number of their troops in proportion to those of France? The five first campaigns had cost more than two hundred millions extraordinary; so that the finances sunk into the former confusion. For fear of exciting a general discontent, by increasing the taxes, with which the people were already oppressed, recourse was had to loans, to the erecting of new offices, and those temporary expedients which infallibly produce

Enormous expenses of the war.

Management of the revenue.

Capita-  
tion esta-  
blished.

New  
building  
contin-  
ued.

The  
prince of  
Conti  
chosen  
king of  
Poland.

The mo-  
ney of  
Saxony  
carries it.

Superiori-  
ty of the  
emperour  
over the  
Turks.

duce a lasting evil, by increasing the public debt. The value of the silver mark in coin had been increased three livres in 1689; which operation did a considerable injury to commerce; and while the kingdom was impoverished, the royal revenue sensibly diminished. In 1695, the capitation, a new tax, was established; and though they thereby raised twenty one millions, yet the revenue of this year did not exceed the former more than ten millions. It is then evident that war, though accompanied with the greatest success, exposed France to the utmost misery. Such is the effect of habit, especially in princes, that they reject the lessons of experience; and the situation of the kingdom did not prevent Louis from squandering millions on new buildings.

John Sobieski dying in 1696, the throne of Poland became vacant during the negotiations of Ryswick. The abbé (since cardinal) de Polignack, famous for his *Anti Lucretius*, was at that time ambassadour in Poland, and succeeded so as to make the election fall upon the prince of Conti, whose valour had been signalized at the battles of Steenkirk and Nerwinden. In two hours after, another party proclaimed Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, who had the advantage of being in the neighbourhood, and possessed of money. Louis XIV. certainly was not in a situation to carry the war into that country, and gave the prince of Conti such slender assistance, that he was not able even to penetrate into Dantzick. The Poles united in favour of the German prince, who paid dear for their crown.

The peace of Carlowitz, which was concluded with the Turks in 1699, is a very remarkable epocha, both for its humbling the enemies of the Christian name, and restoring general tranquillity to Europe. From the siege of Vienna, with the assistance of the Poles, Russians, and particularly the Venetians, the emperour Leopold had maintained a constant superiority over the Turks. Prince Eugene of Savoy, who was afterwards so formidable



ble to France, defeated them at the battle of Zanta in 1695, where they lost more than twenty thousand men. Their army was commanded by the sultan Mustapha II. who was deposed some time after the peace of Carlowitz, which brought upon him the hatred and contempt of his people.

Battle of  
Zanta.

Peace of  
Carlo-  
witz.

By this treaty the porte yielded Transylvania to the emperor, which was a principality always acknowledged independent, though under the protection of the Turk. According to the abbé Mably, it therefore could neither be given nor acquired in that manner. "But since that time (as he observes) the court of Vienna has acquired the most lawful title to Transylvania; this province loves the government under which it lives, and has given to its masters unequivocal proofs of its sentiments." (*Droit public de l'Europe.*) The boundaries of both powers were determined; and it was agreed, that neither shall grant an asylum to the discontented subjects of the other; which excludes the Hungarians from a place of refuge, in case of rebellion. It was likewise settled, that those people of Hungary or Transylvania who had quitted their country during the late war, should be debarred from returning.

Transyl-  
vania  
yielded to  
Austria.

With regard to Poland, the Turk restored Kamienieck, and gave up all pretensions to Podolia and the Ukraine; and the Niefter, which separates Moldavia from Podolia, was made the boundary between their territories.

Cessions  
made to  
Poland;

He yielded all the Morea (Peloponnesus) and some islands to Venice. Venice has since lost the Morea by the peace of Passarowitz, in 1718, where the court of Vienna gained the Bannat of Tameswaer and a part of Walachia, no more subject to the Turk.

the Mo-  
rea to  
Venice;

The czar Peter only concluded a truce of two years at Carlowitz; however, he got possession of Azoph upon the Palus Meotis; an important place, which might procure him the command of the Black Sea. That prince and his rival Charles XII. began a war in 1700, that continued eighteen years, to which we must direct

Azoph  
to czar  
Peter.

direct our attention; but the details I am to give of the transactions of these two extraordinary men, would in this place break the chain of our ideas, by making us lose sight of the affairs of the south of Europe; I shall therefore defer them to a more convenient opportunity.

### CHAP. III.

*Partition Treaty for the Succession of Spain.—Last Will and Death of Charles II.—He is succeeded by Philip V. and the War breaks out in Italy.*

The suc-  
cession of  
Spain a  
great ob-  
ject of  
political  
attention.

THE succession to the king of Spain, Charles II. a prince equally weak in body and mind, on the point of dying without children, was a great subject of disquiet and political intrigue. According to the rights of consanguinity, none but the Imperial or French families could have any title. It was entirely inconsistent with the system of a balance of power, to permit the excessive growth of a potentate who might unite so many states in the same person, already in possession of other crowns: but how was it possible to prevent the storms and wars which were foreseen?

Melan-  
choly  
situation  
of Charles  
II.

The situation of the unhappy Charles, according to the idea of M. de Voltaire, was like that of a rich old man dying without children. "His wife, his relations, the priests and notaries, whose business it is to receive the last will of dying persons, beset him on all sides to wrest from him a word in their favour. Some of the heirs agree to share the spoils, while others prepare to dispute them." An anecdote which has not been taken notice of by this historian, but is to be found in the memoirs of the marquis de Saint Philip, serves better to shew the melancholy situation of that dying king.

Surprising  
intrigues  
employed  
to gain an  
ascendant

To

To remove some people from about his person who had <sup>over his</sup> gained his confidence, he was persuaded that he had <sup>mind.</sup> been bewitched, and from thence his disorders and misfortunes proceeded; and that he would find his cure in the exorcisms of the church. His confessor, father Dias, a Dominican, was the life of this intrigue, and was seconded by cardinal Portocarrero and the grand inquisitor. Having got the ascendant over Charles, they caused him to be exorcised, and the dreadful ceremony weakened his head still more. The confessor was disgraced, but Portocarrero became minister. In this manner were the affairs of Spain conducted.

In the mean time, king William of England, who <sup>First partition treaty.</sup> was always attentive to the balance of power in Europe, had conceived or adopted a strange project for maintaining that equilibrium of which he was so jealous; and a partition of the Spanish monarchy, even without the knowledge of its king, was the means to be employed. Louis XIV. concluded a treaty with England and Holland in 1698, by which Spain, and all her possessions in America, were to be secured to the electoral prince of Bavaria, who was then an infant; the kingdom of the two Sicilies, the province of Guipuscoa, Fernal, and some other cities, to the dauphin; and the dutchy of Milan to the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor. Louis renounced the succession, but acquired considerable dominions.

A treaty so opposite to the rights of the king, and the natural order of things, provoked the court of Madrid, and not without reason. It was chiefly afraid of <sup>Charles, being provoked, makes his will.</sup> having the monarchy dismembered; and the king, not daring to appoint a prince of his own family to be his heir, made a will in favour of his grand nephew, the young prince of Bavaria, who died almost immediately after at Brussels; upon which the disquiets and intrigues were renewed, and a new treaty of partition was the consequence.

By



1700.  
Second  
partition  
treaty.

By this treaty, which was concluded between the same powers as the former, Spain and the West Indies, which were formerly assigned to the Bavarian prince, were to fall to the lot of the archduke Charles, the Milanese to the duke of Lorraine, and Lorraine to be added to the share of the dauphin: so that the succession of a living monarch was disposed of for the second time. Why was not such an important business, upon which the solidity of the peace depended, settled at Ryswick? Probably, even at that time, they perceived some almost unformountable difficulties; or, from their impatience to get the peace concluded, neglected the future for the sake of the present; a fault very common, even among politicians.

The court  
of Vienna  
disgusts  
the Spaniards.

If the emperor would have consented to this treaty, his son would have been king of Spain; but he refused it, in hopes of the whole succession, and lost all by that refusal. The truth was, Charles, being excessively irritated at this new partition, made choice of the archduke; but the court of Vienna, which could not be too solicitous to please him, gave him numberless causes of disgust. He demanded ten thousand men, but they were refused by the emperor: the archduke spoke of the Spaniards in reproachful terms, and these expressions were carried thither; but, on the contrary, the marquis d'Harcourt, the French ambassador at Madrid, made himself beloved, dispelled the prejudices they entertained against the French, and conducted matters so skilfully, that the idea of having a king of that nation no longer terrified its rival.

The marquis d'Harcourt makes himself beloved.

The Spanish council favour France.

In the mean time, the weak Charles accommodated matters with Leopold, who had recalled his ambassador; upon which Louis recalled the marquis d'Harcourt, sent some troops towards the frontiers of Spain, and every thing appeared as if they were upon the eve of a war. Cardinal Portocarrero, with the council of state, was of opinion that the family of France should be preferred to that of Austria. Both lawyers and di-

vines,

vines, consulted upon this important affair, concurred in thinking that nothing was more just. Even pope Innocent XII. was consulted; and he answered, that the laws of Spain, and the good of Christendom, dictated to him to take that measure. The dying monarch then made his will, bequeathing the whole monarchy to the duke d'Anjou, the dauphin's second son; and, failing the younger branches of the family of France, to the archduke Charles, youngest son of the emperor; but upon condition, that the empire and Spain must never be united under the same sovereign: and, lastly, failing these princes, to the duke of Savoy. Charles died some months after, at the age of thirty nine.

Last will  
and death  
of Charles  
II.

It is certain that France had the right of consanguinity. Louis XIV. who was related in the same degree with Leopold, was the son of the elder, and the dauphin was grandson of Philip IV. from whom the children of Leopold were not descended. It is likewise certain, that the renunciation of Maria Theresa, the wife of Louis XIV. was principally intended to prevent the two crowns from being united under one sovereign, and lost its effect when the union was obviated by the will of Charles. As also, that the voice of the people of Spain should have had some weight, though it has been so little regarded. And, last of all, it is absolutely false, that Harcourt had dictated the will, since he had been six months gone from Spain, and all appearances were so opposite at the time of his departure.

The  
certain  
claims of  
the family  
of France.

That a prince of the house of Austria, a family which had waged almost continual war with France for two hundred years, should cause the Spanish monarchy to descend to the Bourbons; that so great an event should be the effect of trifling causes, peevishness, domestic broils, and court intrigues; that the last will of Charles II. almost a mere cypher during his life, should produce this effect, notwithstanding numberless obstructions, is an extraordinary phenomenon, which shews the uncertainty of all political systems.

Events  
which we  
should  
have  
thought  
impossible.

It

How  
Louis  
XIV.  
should  
have  
acted.

It has been a matter of dispute, whether Louis XIV. should have adhered to the last partition treaty, or accepted the will of the king of Spain. By the first, the crown of the two Sicilies, Lorrain, &c. were added to his dominions, and he might reckon upon the assistance of England and Holland against the emperor. By the second, he exposed himself to a general war for the establishment of his grandson. He assembled an extraordinary council, where the question was debated: his disposition prompted him to splendid enterprises, and he accepted the last will of Charles.

Inevitable  
difficul-  
ties on  
both sides  
of the  
question.

The abbé Mably maintains, that he chose the worst, though the Spaniards had called in the duke of Anjou, though they would not have admitted of a partition, and though the regency had given orders, if France did not accept the whole, to make an offer of the succession to the archduke. The marquis de Torci, an able negotiator and secretary of state, in his memoirs maintains a contrary opinion. There are strong probabilities on both sides, which leave the judgment in suspense; and, whether he accepted the will or adhered to the treaty, war was inevitable. It must be allowed, that England and Holland would never have proved faithful allies of France. On the contrary, is it not very probable that they soon would have been enemies? Would they not have taken the first opportunity of breaking the partition treaty, which made them murmur against William? because France, in fact, thereby gained too great an increase of power; too great, according to the common idea of politics; for, in my opinion, the acquisition of a kingdom in Italy must certainly have weakened the French monarchy. Last of all, whatever way he determined, the most violent opposition was to be expected; and if the king exposed himself to the greatest dangers, he at least embraced a just cause.

Philip V.  
almost  
generally  
acknow-  
ledged.

Such was the astonishment of Europe at sight of a prince of the family of Bourbon inheriting the dominions of Spain, that, except the emperor, all the powers remained



remained for some time in perfect tranquillity. The duke of Anjou, by the name of Philip V. set out to take possession of the crown; and his grandfather at parting from him said—*There are no more Pyrenées.* He was acknowledged by the pope, the duke of Savoy, Venice, the northern potentates, even Portugal, England and Holland. The elector of Bavaria, governour of the Low Countries, and his brother the elector of Cologne, were to be depended on; and the duke of Savoy, to whom Philip V. became son in law, as was already the duke of Burgundy, might be looked upon as a friend. The duke of Mantua received a French garrison, and Louis tasted the most flattering satisfaction; but, always presuming upon his power, he did not as yet sufficiently know the dreadful blows prepared against him by fortune.

The emperor Leopold alledged, in opposition to the will of Charles II. some agreements entered into between Charles V. and his brother the emperor Ferdinand I. to secure a reciprocal succession to the two branches of the Austrian family; and likewise that the will of Philip IV. substituted the children of Leopold to Charles; as if the agreements of a family, or the arbitrary will of a prince, could annihilate the laws of a kingdom. By the laws of Spain, the females were entitled to succeed before collateral males; and besides, Charles II. had undoubtedly the same right to bequeath as Philip IV. and his will was agreeable to the laws of the kingdom. Did not the approbation of the people of Spain confirm it inviolably?

As the dominions of Spain in Italy might be considered in a different light, England and Holland entered into an alliance with the emperor, to separate them from the principal inheritance. The views of the allies extended in proportion to the success of their arms.

The war was begun in Italy before these maritime powers declared themselves; and prince Eugene commanded the imperial army, consisting of thirty thousand men.

Ill founded claims of the emperor.

League with regard to Italy.

1701.  
Prince Eugene in Italy.

Catinat  
replaced  
by Ville-  
roi.

Battle of  
Chiari.

Account  
of prince  
Eugene.

He was  
despised  
in France.

Now ne-  
cessary it  
is to pay  
respect to  
merit.

men. Though Venice was neuter, he penetrated through the district of Trent. Catinat, restrained by orders from court, and badly obeyed by some general officers, did not obstruct him on his passage, but retreated before the enemy till he got on the other side the Oglio, and the Milanese was exposed to danger. Marechal de Ville-roi was sent to replace Catinat; this was a courtier, instead of a general. Villeroi, by his insolence, disgusted the duke of Savoy, perhaps already inclined to betray France, and imprudently attacked prince Eugene at Chiari; where he was defeated, notwithstanding the efforts of the duke, who exposed himself to every danger, as did Catinat likewise, who sought his death in an action of which he foresaw the consequences. They were so fatal, that this first campaign prognosticated an unfortunate issue of the war.

This was the beginning of those evils which prince Eugene was to bring upon France, his native country. He was son of the count de Soissons (of the house of Savoy) governour of Champagne, and of madame Mancini, one of cardinal Mazarin's nieces. Being slighted at court in his youth, he went to serve the emperor against the Turks, and bid an eternal adieu to France. The king seemed at that time to treat him with disdain, and the courtiers spoke of him with the utmost contempt. How ill founded and dangerous are hasty judgments, especially in courts! Eugene has shewn himself one of the greatest men in the world; he humbled Louis, in recompense for his insults; and made France tremble, as we shall have too frequent occasion to mention.

With more penetration and reflection, it would have been possible to discover in him that luminous understanding and vigour of soul which raise a man above the level of his species: it would have been foreseen, that by alienating him he might be converted into a dangerous enemy; whereas, by proper attention, he would make a faithful friend: in a word, it would have been judged,

judged, that the more superiour merit was becoming rare, the more essential it was to secure those in whom it was to be found, though only in embryo. Even modest merit has a certain pride, because it feels its own strength; and when an opportunity offers, what advantage may it not take of those from whom it has received an affront!

#### CHAP. IV.

*Louis XIV. gives the Title of King to the Son of James II.—King William arms England and Holland.—Death of William III.—General War.—Revolt of the Cevennes.*

THE war was yet but a single spark, when Louis afforded a pretence to the allies of the emperor to kindle a general conflagration. James II. dying at St. Germain, he gave the title of king to his son, after having agreed in council not to take this dangerous step. The widow of James, and madame de Maintenon, whom Louis had married privately in 1686, by flattering his natural magnanimity, obtained from him what prudence seemed to condemn. It was a bad sign to see two women, the one overwhelmed in sorrow, the other a devotee, inspiring the monarch with devotion, and suddenly overturning the unanimous deliberation of a council of state.

1701.  
Louis gives the title of king of England to the son of James II.

The English might have found a pretence for taking up arms independent of that provocation, but their animosity would have been less keen and less obstinate; they probably would not have employed such efforts, or sacrificed their real interest to inveterate hatred. They contradicted and disturbed William, but from that moment they testified the greatest zeal to serve him;

This proceeding provoked the English.



and in vain did the king of France protest, that he would faithfully adhere to the treaty of Ryswick. They thought themselves insulted, the nation loudly exclaimed, and William knew admirably how to profit by circumstances. The commons undertook to maintain forty thousand men, and insisted, that the war should not be concluded, until the nation had received a signal reparation for the insult. A bill of attainder was passed against the pretender James; a proscription, subjecting him to capital punishment.

1702.  
Death of  
king Wil-  
liam.

William, though infirm, gave life to the whole; and, having made immense preparations, intended to command in person, when a fall from his horse brought on a fever which occasioned his death, at the age of fifty two. Churchill, then earl and afterwards duke of Marlborough, whom he had sent into Holland in the double capacity of general and negotiator, a man of superiour genius in both, did honour to his choice, by sharing with Eugene in the glory of humbling France.

His au-  
thority in  
Holland.

Before we pursue the military operations, it will be proper to consider some circumstances of the reign of William. It was not without reason he was called the king of the Hollanders and the stadtholder of the English; so much did the love and confidence of the first make him master of the republic, while the antipathy and distrust of the second restrained his authority in England. Holland raised seven millions of florins for his expedition to England; and the English commonly opposed his desires, when they were not supported by national hatred against France. The following remarkable facts are of importance in the English government.

How  
much he  
was re-  
strained  
by the  
English.

He could not be pleased, as I formerly observed, with exposing to the examination of the commons, the uses to which he dedicated a considerable part of the money which they granted to him, though a necessary precaution in such a form of government. They prevented him from establishing a toleration, which must have been an advantage to the nation; they even refused the naturalization

zation of foreign Protestants, because they were non-conformists; it therefore did not take place till the following reign. To obtain supplies, in 1694, he gave his consent to a bill which limited the duration of parliament to three years. Corruption was become so dreadful, that this limitation was judged necessary for the preservation of liberty; the court purchased votes; and what could it not do, if the parliament sold themselves, and could prolong their existence during their own pleasure?

Triennial  
parlia-  
ment.

In 1696, a conspiracy against the king was discovered, upon which the greatest zeal was shewn for the safety of his person; the two houses entered into an association to defend him, and support his government; but after the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, they left him only ten thousand men of the army which he wanted to have kept up: in 1699, that number was even reduced to seven thousand; and he was obliged to dismiss his Dutch guards, which penetrated him with sincere sorrow. Invectives against the famous partition treaties, and the accusations which were brought against his ministers, poisoned the peace of his last days. The generous imprudence of Louis XIV. with regard to the pretender, alone put an end to these dangerous storms. In a word, with less phlegm and slenderer abilities, with less regard for liberty and the laws of the nation, William, perhaps, could not have maintained himself upon the throne.

Vexations  
which  
William  
suffered in  
England

He left no children; queen Mary had been some time dead; and her sister Anne, the wife of prince George of Denmark, was joyfully acknowledged, according to the order of succession established by parliament. Queen Anne, at her accession, was thirty seven years of age, virtuous, prudent, a friend to the laws and to her country, and shewed herself deserving the love and veneration of her people. In France they vainly flattered themselves with the hope, that the death of the formidable William would change the political system;

Queen  
Anne.

but there was not any alteration: Marlborough confirmed the Dutch in the league which was formed against Louis; war was declared against that monarch upon various pretences, and the success very soon surpassed the hopes of the allies.

Every  
thing pre-  
sages a  
reverse in  
France.

Madame  
de Main-  
tenon;  
Chamill-  
lard.

The greater the confidence which Louis placed in his strength and knowledge, he was the more exposed to a reverse of fortune. His disordered finances were put into the hands of Chamillard, an old counsellor of the parliament, an honest man, but destitute of abilities, yet appointed minister of the war department. He was the creature of madame de Maintenon. This woman, though possessed of abilities and good intentions, was led too much by prejudice; and the king, now in the decline of life, shut up with her, no longer inspired that ardour and activity which had formerly produced such wonders: he wanted that every thing should be regulated in the cabinet, and the generals to obey his orders, rather than to consult their own genius and the circumstances. Military discipline, of which Louvois was the soul, had languished from the time of his death, and was daily more and more enervated. Young men shone at the head of regiments which should have been commanded by men of abilities; and, in a word, neither the government, nor ministry, nor army, nor the state of the nation, answered to the successful years of this reign. When the principal springs of a kingdom are weakened, every thing wears out, and sinks into decay.

Eugene &  
Marlbo-  
rough.

On the contrary, the army of the enemy was commanded by two great generals, Marlborough and Eugene, who were not less able politicians, at liberty to guide the operations of the campaign, leading the counsels of their sovereigns, having the treasures of England and Holland at their disposal; and, what is still more remarkable, acting together in perfect concert. A Turenne and a Condé, who would not have been subjected to the narrow views of a Chamillard, were wanted to oppose them.

Prince



Prince Eugene was in Italy, and had already arrived in the neighbourhood of Cremona, where Villeroi was without any apprehension; and in the month of February, under cover of the night, caused part of his army to enter the town through an aqueduct. He very soon got admittance himself; when Villeroi was waked by the noise of the musketry, and coming out of his house was taken prisoner. If a French regiment had not accidentally been under arms preparing for a review, (so well had prince Eugene taken his measures) Cremona must have inevitably fallen; but that regiment opposed him till the garrison had time to get under arms, and the imperialists were at last obliged to retire.

1702.  
Villeroi  
surprised  
in Cremona.

The duke de Vendôme, grandson of Henry IV. was sent to succeed Villeroi. He was a man of genius and courage, of great abilities in the day of action, though in other respects very deficient in prudence, and particularly negligent of discipline, but adored by his soldiers, who thought themselves invincible under his command; so that Vendôme frequently fought with more honour than advantage. After the bloody battle of Luzara, both parties sung *Te Deum*. It is sufficient to remark, with M. de Voltaire, that Vendôme was always conqueror, except when he had to contend against prince Eugene.

Succeeded  
by Ven-  
dôme,

The young duke of Burgundy, guided by mareschal de Boufflers, did not succeed in Flanders. Marlborough, who had learnt the art of war under Turenne, and possessed the coolness and abilities of that hero, continued to advance without hazarding a battle. He took Venlo, Ruremonde and Liege; and the reputation of the French arms was already upon the decline.

The duke  
of Bur-  
gundy in  
Flanders.

At first, however, she kept her ground in Germany; Leopold had engaged the circles of Austria, Suabia, Franconia, the Upper and Lower Rhine, in the alliance, and had chiefly gained Frederick elector of Brandenburg, in whose favour he had erected the dutchy of Prussia into a kingdom. The imperial army was com-  
manded

Allies of  
Leopold  
in Ger-  
many.

First king  
of Prussia.

Villars  
conqueror  
at Fri-  
dlingen.

manded by the prince of Baden, who had made himself famous by his exploits against the Turks; and, having taken Landau, gave room to be apprehensive for Alsace, where Catinat then was, who did not think he could venture to attack him. The marquis de Villars, a lieutenant-general, more bold, and an excellent officer, but a bad courtier, was resolved, by the performance of great actions, to extort a reward, and obtained permission to engage the imperialists, whom he defeated and pursued at Fridlingen, and was honoured with the staff of a marshal.

1703.  
Battles of  
Hochstet  
& Spires.

Having joined the elector of Bavaria the next year, he in some degree obliged the elector to attack an army of twenty thousand men, who were on their march to reinforce the prince of Baden at Hochstet, near Donawert. The imperialists were defeated, the elector took possession of Augsburgh, and Vienna was in danger. The marshal de Tallard likewise gained a victory at Spires over the prince of Hesse, who afterwards ascended the throne of Sweden. He wrote to Louis XIV.—*Your army has taken more colours and standards than it has lost private soldiers.* He took Landau from the enemy, but the successes of France were drawing to a period.

Defection  
of the  
duke of  
Savoy.

The duke of Savoy, dissatisfied, and guided by self interest, suddenly changed sides, as he had done the former war: he gave up the cause of his two sons in law, and sold himself to the emperor, who promised him Montferrat, Alexandria, Valencia, &c. While he was making this bargain, France was informed of his infidelity; and the duke of Vendôme had time to disarm five thousand of his men, who were still joined to the French army. Sufficient attention had not been paid to the duke; besides, he would have done any thing for his own aggrandizement.

and of the  
king of  
Portugal.

Peter II, king of Portugal, brother of Alphonso VI. whom he had long since dethroned, in the same manner betrayed the king of Spain, to obtain a dismemberment of that kingdom, which had been promised to him before

fore he entered his dominions. The emperor and his eldest son, Joseph king of the Romans, yielded their claims to the Spanish monarchy in favour of the archduke Charles. Charles went to England and Holland, where the armaments were preparing.

Another source of misfortunes was the recalling of the mareschal de Villars. His carriage was so imprudent; his blunt temper, which made him an enemy to fawning, was so disgusting to the elector of Bavaria, that that prince imprudently required another general, though he could not hope for one so good. Villars, who was calculated for important expeditions, was sent to fight against the fanatics of the Cevennes, a set of poor mountaineers who had occasioned some disturbance.

One consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, was the reviving of fanaticism with its former rage; and the zeal of these wretched people was rekindled by the return of some of their fugitive clergy, which produced a rebellion. Some prophets and prophetesses (for so they were called) started up among them, whose extravagances set all in a flame. To free themselves from tyranny, or to gain the palm of martyrdom, was what the rebels, known by the name of *Camisards*, proposed. The war cry was—*No taxes, and liberty of conscience*. The more they suffered, the greater was their inveteracy. The assistance they expected from the allies, especially from Savoy, kept up their insolence. The frightful mountains, from whence they rushed like wild beasts, afforded them an asylum where they could scarcely be forced; while the troops were engaged by foreign enemies. They had been fruitlessly pursued by the mareschal de Montrevel; but the mareschal de Villars thought it was better to treat with one of their chiefs, a young baker, to whom a brevet of colonel was given, and who afterwards entered into the service of England: however, the rebels did not submit; but when Villars resumed the command of the army,

Villars  
impru-  
dently re-  
called.

Fanati-  
cism and  
rebellion  
in the Ce-  
vennes.

Mare-  
schals of  
France,  
who had  
carried on  
the war  
against  
these  
moun-  
taineers.



army, they were reduced and almost exterminated by the marechal de Berwick. How often should Louis XIV. have reflected, that by inspiring such hatred in a part of his subjects whom he persecuted, he had done great injury to himself, without serving the cause of religion.

## CHAP. V.

*Misfortunes of France and Spain, from 1704 to 1710.—  
Almost all Hope at an End.*

THE different theatres of the war, even Italy, where Vendôme continued successful, very soon changed their appearance; and the most splendid prosperity was succeeded by the greatest misfortunes. Of all the lessons which history furnishes to ambitious princes, there is not one so proper as this to dispel the intoxication of success.

Dangers  
of the  
emperour  
Leopold.

It was imagined that the emperour was on the eve of being dethroned; Passaw had already fallen into the hands of the elector of Bavaria; the victorious French and Bavarians might have easily laid siege to Vienna; and Leopold was at the same time at war with the Hungarians, who complained of new oppressions, and, having rebelled, put themselves under the command of prince Ragotzi. But Villars was unsuccessful in Germany; Marlborough had already taken possession of Bon, Hui, and Limbourg, and was advancing speedily to the assistance of the emperour. Villeroy, being set at liberty, commanded the army in Flanders, and followed Marlborough, but very soon lost sight of him. The English general forced the intrenchments near Donawert, took that city, and passed the Danube, where he was joined by prince Eugene, their two armies forming a body of fifty two thousand men against sixty thousand.

Marlbo-  
rough and  
Eugene in  
Germany.

On the same plain where Villars defeated the imperialists in 1703, was fought the famous battle of Hochstet, or Blenheim, which was followed by most fatal disasters. The marshals Tallard and Marsin, with the elector of Bavaria, commanded. Twelve capital faults, of which they were accused, may be seen in the memoirs of that rigid censor of generals M. de Feuquieres. Undoubtedly they committed some very great ones, since Villars, who was then at the extremity of the Cevennes, on hearing their dispositions, foretold the event. The superiority of the generals of the enemy was a sufficiently bad omen.

1704.  
Battle of  
Hochstet,  
or Blen-  
heim.

Marlborough penetrated the wing of the army commanded by Tallard, who, being near sighted, threw himself into the middle of one of the enemy's squadrons, where he was taken prisoner. Eugene, after being three times repulsed, routed all who opposed him; when the elector and Marsin retreated, without thinking of twelve thousand men of the best troops of France, who were shut up in the village of Blenheim; and this small army, from its situation, was obliged to surrender without coming to an engagement. The Danube and the field of battle were covered with dead; and after the action the French army could scarcely collect twenty thousand men. A hundred leagues of country were suddenly lost; Bavaria fell a prey to the Austrians, while the elector saved himself by flying to Brussels. Alsace was invaded, Landau and Trarbach taken by the imperialists, and Marlborough made himself master of Treves.

Dreadful  
defeat fol-  
lowed by  
heavy  
losses.

Amidst these victories, in 1705, died the emperor Leopold, a prince of a weak character, always guided, yet always desirous to appear absolute. His ministers, by representing Louis XIV. every where as an odious and formidable enemy, had almost rendered him master of the whole power of the empire; and from thence came the association of the circles, and those armies of more than sixty thousand men, which were seen on the banks

Death of  
Leopold.

Joseph I. banks of the Rhine. Joseph I. the eldest son and suc-  
 his suc- cessor of Leopold, being of an enterprising genius, and  
 cessor. capable of acting for himself, took care to profit by this  
 advantage. He immediately proscribed the two elec-  
 tors of Bavaria and Cologne, who had been stripped of  
 their dominions; and gave a principality of the empire  
 to Marlborough, upon whom queen Anne and the  
 English parliament lavished more flattering recom-  
 penses.

Critical  
 situation  
 of Philip  
 V.

The  
 princess  
 of Ursini.

Philip V. was already tottering on the throne of  
 Spain; and though the bulk of the nation was for him,  
 yet there was a great number of factious traitors in the  
 different provinces, and his court was distracted by in-  
 trigues. Cardinal Portocarrero and Arias, the chief  
 members of the secret council, were disgraced. The  
 princess of Ursini, (of the family of Tremouille) with  
 some Frenchmen, engrossed his favour; and she chang-  
 ed the ministry as she pleased. Louis XIV. having  
 soon after recalled her, she was permitted to return, at  
 the earnest entreaties of Philip, who could not bear her  
 absence. This capricious woman continued a long  
 time to have too great an influence over the affairs of  
 state, and the Spaniards had great room to complain of  
 her; but the king was of a mild and virtuous dispo-  
 sition.

Attempts  
 in favour  
 of the  
 archduke  
 Charles.

England and Holland, being resolved to dethrone  
 him, made incredible efforts in favour of the archduke,  
 who in raillery was called *Charles, by the grace of here-  
 tics, Catholic king*. So great was the detestation of he-  
 resy in Portugal and Spain, that such protectors neces-  
 sarily brought an odium on the party whose cause they  
 espoused; however, they almost succeeded, and the  
 English in a particular manner signalized themselves in  
 the attempt.

Conquests  
 by the  
 English in  
 Spain.

After having conveyed the archduke Charles into  
 Portugal, in the year 1704 they took Gibraltar; of  
 which they have ever since kept possession. Next year  
 they reduced the provinces of Valencia and Catalonia.

Two



Two fruitless attempts of France, the one against Gibraltar, and the other against Barcelona, almost totally ruined that formidable marine which had been established by Louis XIV. There were still some hopes, but they all soon vanished.

Villeroi, who was always honoured with the confidence of Louis, which he merited on every account rather than that of general, flattered himself that, with an army of fourscore thousand men in Flanders, he would wipe away the stains of his reputation. Contrary to the opinion of his generals, he resolved to risk an engagement; and his dispositions were made against all the rules of military science. The battle of Ramillies, which was fought near the Mehaigne, proved a most disgraceful overthrow for the French, who were defeated in half an hour by Marlborough, when they lost twenty thousand men, and almost all Spanish Flanders. Louis having spared to reproach Villeroi, is undoubtedly worthy of admiration. *Mareschal*, said the king on seeing him, *Fortune does not smile upon men of our age*; but the people did not less lament the disasters occasioned by favour being misplaced; and as faults multiplied, misfortunes increased.

1706.  
Villeroi  
defeated  
by Marl-  
borough at  
Ramillies.

Vendôme should have been left in Italy, since he carried on a difficult war with great glory. He repulsed prince Eugene at the battle of Cassano, near the Adda, in 1705, and had newly gained a complete victory over another general at Cassinato; last of all, he obliged prince Eugene to retire into the country of Trent to wait a reinforcement; and was preparing to give the last blow to the duke of Savoy, by taking the capital of Piedmont. During these transactions, Vendôme was destined to replace Villeroi in the Low Countries. The duke de la Feuillade, son in law of the minister Chamillard, who was anxious to raise him to the highest honours, was charged with the siege of Turin; and this new choice of court favour proved a fresh source of misfortunes.

Vendôme  
victorious  
in Italy.

He was  
destined  
to com-  
mand in  
Flanders.

The

Prepara-  
tions for  
the siege  
of Turin.

The author of *The Age of Louis XIV.* gives a curious detail of the preparations for this siege. "One hundred  
" battalions and forty six squadrons, a hundred and  
" forty pieces of cannon, a hundred and ten thousand  
" balls, twenty one thousand bombs, about twenty  
" eight thousand grenades, &c. It is certain that the  
" expense of these preparations for destruction would  
" have been sufficient to settle one of the most nume-  
" rous colonies, and to have put it into a flourishing  
" condition. Every siege of a great town requires these  
" immense expenses ; and when a ruined village ought  
" to be repaired at home, it is neglected." I should  
be glad frequently to copy such reflections, though they  
should only produce a sentiment of compassion on the  
fate of mankind.

Faults of  
la Feuillade at  
that siege.

To judge of the conduct of the duke de la Feuillade, it is enough to be informed, that, when the marechal de Vauban offered to direct the operations of the siege in quality of engineer, the duke rejected his offer with disdain. By his manner of attacking Turin, he made it believed that he did not intend the place should be taken ; at least, such an incredible report was greatly spread, and after some ill concerted attacks he had made no progress in the siege. The duke of Savoy sallied out of the town, and escaped ; prince Eugene advanced to his assistance, and had time to force every obstruction.

Prince  
Eugene  
advances,  
and joins  
the duke  
of Savoy.

Even in presence of Vendôme, who was already appointed to the command in Flanders, and, because he was on the eve of setting out, was perhaps more negligent than usual, Eugene passed the Adige, the White Canal, and likewise the Po. The duke of Orleans, to whom Vendôme gave up the command of the army, not being able to prevent the junction of the imperialists with the duke of Savoy near Asti, set out to join la Feuillade before Turin. If the duke of Orleans had commanded in chief, he would have marched to meet the enemy rather than wait for them in the lines ; but

an order from court, with which Marfin was intrusted, contrary to his own opinion, overruled the intention of the prince ; and, to obey their instructions from court, they were exposed to the greatest misfortunes.

In two hours the lines were forced, the French dispersed, their baggage, ammunition, military chest, &c. all fell into the hands of the enemy. Marfin died of his wounds ; the duke of Orleans, who was likewise wounded, retreated towards Pignerol. Though no more than two thousand men fell in the battle, all the French possessed in Italy was lost ; Piedmont, the Milanese, Modena, Mantua, and even the kingdom of Naples. By retiring under the walls of Casal, they might have had some resource. Two days after the defeat at Turin, the count de Medavi gained a complete victory over the prince of Hesse at Castiglione, but it was attended with no consequences. To save these victorious troops, it was found necessary to capitulate, and the whole country was abandoned to the emperor. All these losses were the fruit of a first error.

Defeat at  
Turin.

The affairs of Spain seemed equally desperate. The siege of Barcelona, where Philip V. assisted in person, was not more fortunate than that of Turin. They imagined they were on the point of taking the place, when the count de Toulouse, a natural son of Louis XIV. and admiral in chief, who blocked up the port, was obliged to retreat before an English squadron. At the same time an eclipse of the sun happened, with which the Spaniards were as much terrified as in the days of ignorance : the marshal de Tessé speedily raised the siege, and left immense quantities of provisions to fall into the hands of the English, and the whole provinces of the kingdom were filled with dismay. They penetrated even to Madrid, and caused the archduke to be proclaimed. It was believed in France, that Philip must have gone to establish his power in America, which was a project of the famous Vauban. But what could he have done without a naval power ?

The siege  
of Barce-  
lona like-  
wise rais-  
ed.

The arch-  
duke pro-  
claimed  
at Madrid.

He



Fidelity  
and zeal  
of the  
Castilians

1707.  
Berwick  
defeats  
the enemy  
at Alman-  
za, which  
is follow-  
ed by o-  
ther suc-  
cesses.

Siege of  
Toulon.

1708.  
Attempt  
upon Scot-  
land.

He still found a resource in the virtue of the Castilians, who continued faithful to their king, and were provoked at an attempt to impose another upon them. Being delighted with the courage and merit of the young queen, they displayed all the zeal of an intrepid people animated with despair. Bishops, priests, monks, peasants, women, and even children, joined in the patriotic enthusiasm, and signalized themselves by bold actions, so that the capital was very soon recovered; where Philip was received with transports of joy, and every one was anxious to contribute to his assistance. The marshal de Berwick, natural son of James II. defeated the enemy at Almanza, upon the frontiers of Valencia, in 1707. Their general was the count de Ruvigni, a native of France, who had been made a peer by the title of lord Galloway. Having observed the efforts of the Castilians, he wrote to London, that all the powers of Europe could not dethrone a prince so beloved by his subjects. The duke of Orleans came to command in Spain, and took advantage of the battle of Almanza to reduce Valencia and Arragon; and took Lerida in Catalonia, which had formerly resisted the great Condé.

These events a little revived the hopes of France; and the marshal de Villars had likewise been successful in Germany, where he laid Suabia and Franconia under contribution. It was a kind of prodigy, that, after such dreadful disasters, the enemy had not set foot in France; but at last the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene penetrated by the pass of Tenda. They laid siege to Toulon, which was bombarded at the same time by an English fleet. If that town had been taken, Provence and Dauphiné must probably have fallen into the hands of the enemy; but scarcity, diseases, and the opportune arrival of fresh succours, caused the siege to be raised, and fears on that quarter to be dispelled.

However, new misfortunes were still impending; and an attempt upon Scotland, in favour of the Pretender,

was

was unsuccessful. The chevalier Forbin saved the fleet, which could not be done without much difficulty, against the English and contrary winds. Louis entertained still better hopes from the campaign in Flanders, where his grandson, the duke of Burgundy, famous for those virtues with which he had been inspired by Fenelon, commanded an army of one hundred thousand men, and was assisted by Vendôme. The taking of Ghent and Ipres, a conquest of no great difficulty, as a secret correspondence was kept up in both places, seemed to presage better fortune. Unluckily, that pious prince and his courtiers could not agree with a general who had no tincture of devotion; and a difference of character and principles broke that union which is so needful to procure success. What was essential at bottom, was not to entertain just thoughts of religion, but to serve the state with fidelity. Prince Eugene and Marlborough were strictly united both in the field and the cabinet, and profited by the faults which this misunderstanding could not fail to occasion. They routed the French army at Oudenarde, and laid siege to Lisle; an attempt apparently rash, but which was justified by the event. The excellent defence made by the marschal de Boufflers for near four months, only served to add to the glory of the conquerors; they next made themselves masters of Ghent and Bruges; Paris trembled, and not without reason; for some officers in the Dutch service, chiefly French refugees, advanced as far as Versailles, and carried off the king's master of the horse, whom they mistook for the dauphin.

Campaign  
in Flan-  
ders.

The duke  
of Bur-  
gundy &  
Vendôme  
did not  
agree.

Battle of  
Ouden-  
arde,  
taking of  
Lisle, &c.

A panic  
in Paris.

The next year completed the calamities of France. Clement IX. (Albani) who had always espoused the interest of France, seeing the ecclesiastical state threatened by the imperialists, was obliged to acknowledge the archduke king of Spain. His suffrage was of great consequence in the opinion of a superstitious people, who abhorred the heretics, by whom that prince was supported. The English took Sardinia from Spain,  
and

1709.  
Philip V.  
still loses  
ground.

and gave it to the emperor, and had taken Minorca the year before; the Moors made themselves masters of Oran, on the coast of Africa; and the monarchy seemed every where to fall to ruin.

Louis sues  
fruitlessly  
for peace.

To so many losses the scourge of nature seemed to be added; a severe winter made them despair of any harvest, and France was so exhausted as to seem incapable of new efforts; the provinces rung with complaints, and Louis sued for peace, without a hope of obtaining tolerable conditions; but he wanted to convince his people that the war was continued against his inclination. At last the marquis de Torci, the king's chief minister, went to negotiate in person at the Hague, where he was obliged to bear the haughty behaviour of the grand pensionary Heinsius, who joined with Marlborough and prince Eugene in the design of humbling France. He was disgusted with their proposals, in which they demanded that the king should join with them to dethrone his grandson; that he should renounce the sovereignty of Alsace; and yield to the Dutch ten towns in Flanders, &c. These odious proposals produced a favourable effect for Louis XIV. By a circular letter, he shewed the public not only the cruel injustice of the enemy, but likewise the necessity of defending himself against them. The sense of the evils which they endured was suspended by honour and indignation.

Torci at  
the Hague.

Proposals  
made by  
the ene-  
my.

Villars  
and Bouff-  
lers in  
Flanders.

Villars commanded an army of about seventy thousand men in Flanders, and the marshal Boufflers, though his senior, had desired to serve under him; a generosity more honourable for him, than to have the command in chief. Tournay had newly surrendered, and Eugene and Marlborough were going to lay siege to Mons; but they attacked the French, who wanted to obstruct their design.

Battle of  
Malpla-  
quet.

From the obstinacy of the combatants, and the quantity of blood that was spilt, the battle of Malplaquet surpassed all the rest. Though the French soldier-

ry



ry had been without bread the preceding day, they threw away a part of what had been newly distributed to them, and forgot their wants to yield to that martial ardour with which they were inspired. The left wing of the allies, which was composed of the Dutch troops, was cut in pieces, but Marlborough gained ground. Villars was wounded while hastening to oppose his progress; but the allies gained the field of battle, and Boufflers retreated in good order. The loss of France did not exceed eight thousand men, while that of the allies was more than twenty thousand; however, that did not prevent them from taking Mons. Opinion sometimes has prodigious influence in the success of armies; the loss of the field of battle is sufficient to dishearten those who are in fact the strongest.

France was threatened with an invasion on the other side of the kingdom. The duke of Savoy had passed the Alps and taken Anneci, and was to advance into Burgundy, where he expected to be joined by the imperialists, after having penetrated into Franche Comté. This bold attempt, which was prudently concerted, failed, by the count de Merci being defeated at Rumersheim. The count de Bourg (afterwards a marshal of France) had the honour of defeating him, and in some degree preserving the kingdom. But if the war was not brought to an end, what was still to be expected? Louis was to be humbled under a new load of misfortunes.

Scheme  
of the  
enemy  
against  
Burgundy  
fails.

## C H A P. VI.

*Continuation of the War.—Death of the Emperour Joseph.—Intrigues at London.—Disgrace of Marlborough, and Preliminaries of Peace.*

Humiliat-  
ing offers  
of Louis.

**T**HAT dreadful conqueror, who in 1672 subdued almost all Holland, and, by refusing tolerable terms to the conquered, inspired them with the courage of despair, now found himself under the necessity of begging a humiliating peace from these same Hollanders, from a persuasion that he could not obtain it by any other means. He offered them a barrier, in which Tournay and Lisle were comprehended; to restore Strasburgh and Brisack, to fill up the harbour of Dunkirk, to acknowledge the archduke king of Spain, and to give no assistance to Philip V. &c. We may judge by these offers how much the kingdom was exhausted, and to what a dreadful situation it was reduced.

They  
could not  
be reject-  
ed but im-  
prudently.

If the general welfare could have prevailed over particular passions, undoubtedly the allies would not have hesitated. Were not they likewise sufferers? Were they not exhausted? Were they always secure of victory? Could not a single reverse of fortune wrest from them those great advantages, which might have been secured to them by a stroke of a pen? But, on the one hand, the ambition of Eugene and Marlborough made them desirous to continue the war; on the other, the pride of the grand pensionary Heinsius flattered him with the hopes of crushing Louis XIV. Holland was without a stadtholder ever since the death of William III. however, Heinsius, who was not so ambitious as William, followed the same political system with regard to France, and gave himself up entirely to the guidance of these two generals.

The

The French ambassadours, who were received into the little town of Gertruydenberg by way of favour, (for they would not deign to admit them to the conferences with the other plenipotentiaries) seeing their offers rejected with a tone of contempt, humbled themselves so far as to promise assistance in money to carry on the war against Philip V. The allies carried their barbarity to such an excessive length, as to require that he should turn his arms against him, and be obliged, without assistance, to dethrone him in a couple of months; without which condition they refused to treat. This was to make a peace impossible, and to render themselves, in the sight of mankind, guilty of all the cruelties of an unjust war.

But yet  
want him  
to de-  
thronè his  
grandson  
himself.

To complete these evils, the arrogance of the allies was cherished by success. They took Douai, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire; the barrier towns of France fell one after another, and the public misery occasioned universal despair. A new edict imposed a tax of the tenth of all the revenues; and this burden, unfortunately necessary, was registered without obstruction. The affairs in Spain succeeded no better; and the moment was arrived in which all hope was at an end.

New mis-  
fortunes of  
France.

After the battle of Almanza in 1707, the marquis de Bay gained another victory in 1709, at Guadiana in Estremadura; yet Philip found himself upon the point of being driven out of his kingdom. Louis XIV. had been obliged to recall his troops for his own defence; and the Spaniards, twice beaten in Catalonia, were again defeated at Saragossa, by the celebrated German general Stahrenberg; and Philip once more quitted his capital. The archduke again entered Madrid, and caused himself to be proclaimed anew; but the sorrow with which the countenances of the Castilians were impressed, declared their fidelity to their lawful king.

Philip V.  
again  
leaves  
Madrid.

One man only was asked from the court of France, the famous duke de Vendôme, who had not served since the unfortunate campaign of Lisle. No general

Vendôme  
in Spain.



ever knew better than he how to inspire his army with a military enthusiasm ; and, upon his arrival, the Spaniards thought they had found a saviour. The grandees of that country were deliberating on what rank should be given to him :—*Any rank is sufficient*, said the hero ; *I do not come to contend for precedence, but to save your king*. He very soon was provided both with an army and money ; and the zeal of the nation was such, as to seem to do more than was possible. The archduke quitted Madrid ; and Vendôme, having conducted the king thither, hastened to attack his astonished enemies : he besieged the English general, Stanhope, in Brihuega, made him prisoner with five thousand men, and next day gained a decisive victory over Stahrenberg at Villaviciosa ; upon which occasion Philip acquired great honour. Both he and the archduke had been blamed for not having animated their troops by their own presence. After the battle of Almanza, the earl of Peterborough said—*People are very good natured to fight for them*.

Siege of  
Brihuega.  
Battle of  
Villaviciosa.

Death of  
the fortunate  
emperor  
Joseph.

The emperor Joseph I. whose good fortune had never failed him, who had dismembered a part of the Spanish monarchy for his own advantage, who had most arbitrarily disposed of the dominions of the elector of Bavaria, rejoiced at the humiliation of the king of France, and had defeated the Hungarian rebels, died at the age of thirty three, at the height of human prosperity. His brother, Charles VI. whom he attempted to raise to the throne of Spain, was his heir, and, after an interregnum of six months, was elected emperor. Peace was naturally expected to be the consequence of this unlooked for event.

Is succeeded by  
Charles.

Secret intrigues in  
England to effect a  
peace.

Some preparations had been making for it a considerable time in England ; and the intrigues of the court were of use to the cause of humanity. This is too remarkable a circumstance not to engage the attention ; and nothing serves better to shew the influence which caprice, whim, and trifles, have on the fate of kingdoms and empires.

There

There was always an opposition between the whigs and tories, which proved the more keen, that religious sentiments were added to politics to foment the division: the first retained some of the principles of the Presbyterians, and the second were zealous sticklers for Episcopacy. Marlborough having declared in favour of the whigs, that faction not only ruled, but even persecuted: an enemy of peace, it entered into all the views of the general, whose credit and immense fortune had their foundation in war. A love of money, that disgraceful passion in so great a man, contributed, as much as the honours which were conferred upon him, to render him an irreconcilable enemy to the family of Bourbon. His wife governed queen Anne; Godolphin the treasurer was his friend, and the father in law of one of his daughters; and the earl of Sunderland, secretary of state, his son in law, was equally devoted to him; so that, while there was no change of ministry, he disposed of every thing as he pleased.

The whigs  
rule in  
London.

Credit &  
vices of  
Marlbo-  
rough.

But the dutchess of Marlborough, who was haughty to a degree of insolence, forgot that favour should be skilfully employed, to be secure against disgrace. She made the queen too sensible of her influence; and gave so much reason for disgust, that in 1708 another favourite, lady Masham, who was her relation and creature, was already become a rival, by whom she was on the point of being supplanted; and from that time cabals against the duke began to be formed. The hopes of the tories were revived. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, secretary of state, and the famous St. John, afterwards viscount Bolingbroke, formed the plan of a revolution.

His wife  
abuses the  
favour of  
the queen.

Harley &  
Boling-  
broke.

In those countries where the affairs of the government are influenced by the populace, it is necessary to give them an impression according to its views, by means which are analogous to their way of thinking and feeling; and the springs of religion are almost always the strongest. Doctor Sacheverel, one of those zealous enthusiasts,

The tories  
have re-  
course to  
the influ-  
ence of re-  
ligion.

Sacheve-  
rel.

thusiasts, who, though void of understanding, could lead the multitude, preached and printed his declamations in favour of passive obedience, religious intolerance, and, in one word, against the principles and government of the whigs. In 1709 he was accused by the house of commons, and his trial engaged the attention of all ranks. The clergy and people declared in his favour with so much heat, that a sedition was apprehended. The queen was present at the trial as a spectator, and it was universally known that she approved a doctrine favourable to royalty. Many of the principal tories declared, that the doctor's sermons were absurd, but maintained there was not sufficient ground for condemnation. Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of only seventeen voices. The parliament ordered his sermon to be burnt, and himself to be suspended for three years. A more rigorous sentence was expected; and the tories, fancying themselves triumphant, entered into new intrigues.

His sermon burnt by order of parliament.

Disgrace of the duchess of Marlborough,

Great changes effected by small means.

Such was the weakness of the queen for the duchess of Marlborough, that, if she would have restrained her haughtiness, she might have long preserved her influence; but at last her overbearing, fiery temper rendered her unsufferable; and the new favourite, whom she had insulted, seized the opportunity to be revenged. Anne, being wounded to the quick, burst her bonds; and Godolphin, Sunderland, and the other leaders of the whig party, were very soon dismissed: the ministry was changed, and it was necessary likewise to change the parliament. Doctor Sacheverel once more appeared upon the scene; a benefice was bestowed upon him; the clergy and people yielded to the prevailing enthusiasm; and almost all the elections were made in favour of tories. Without this trifling accident, perhaps, this revolution would not have taken place. The people of all countries are the same.

Inveteracy of the tories against the

When the tories got into power, they became, like the whigs, insolent persecutors. They inveighed against the



the former ministers, and against Marlborough. The noble actions, the great services, of that general, were defaced by party hatred; nothing was spoken of but his insatiable avarice, and things of the most odious kinds were imputed to him; his abilities were insulted, and even his courage rendered problematical. The English seem to have been seized with the levity and ingratitude of the Athenians; or rather, in the transports of faction, they shewed themselves, what they always have been in similar circumstances, less reasonable than passionate and unjust.

However, the court durst not take the command of the army from Marlborough. While the war continued, he was almost certain of preserving considerable power; and however great the queen's inclination for peace, the national prejudices against France, and the pride of victory, presented powerful obstacles.

But the emperor Joseph being dead, and all his dominions inherited by Charles, it was the interest of England to adopt a different system, and not exhaust herself in the cause of another. She bore the burden of the war, while Holland and the house of Austria reaped the fruits. If she had taken up arms to preserve the balance of power in Europe; if there was room to dread that the family of France, being placed on the throne of Spain, would make the balance lean to that side, ought she to set all those crowns upon one head, which had rendered the house of Austria too formidable? Was it not high time to put an end to the calamities of Europe? Could England do any thing more for her own glory?

Queen Anne and her ministers were kept in restraint by the engagements which had been entered into with the allies; but by means of an obscure priest, whose name was Gualtier, a secret negotiation had been begun with the court of Versailles; and the ministry of Louis XIV. was assured, that, if they pleased, a peace might be concluded without the interposition of Holland.

*This*

duke of  
Marlbo-  
rough.

Obstruc-  
tions to a  
peace.

After the  
death of  
Joseph I.  
the mo-  
tives for  
war no  
longer  
subsisted.

Secret ne-  
gotiations  
at Ver-  
sailles.

*This was, as M. de Torci expresses it in his Memoirs, asking a sick man, attacked by a long and dangerous disorder, if he wished to be cured.* The poet Prior was employed in this negotiation; and, what is very uncommon, both parties acted with equal sincerity.

1711.  
Marlbo-  
rough  
takes Bou-  
chain.

However, the war was still continued, and Marlborough made France tremble. He forced the lines of mareschal de Villars, which extended from Montreuil to Valenciennes: he next attempted the siege of Bouchain; a bold undertaking, attended with the same success, so that there was scarce any obstruction left between him and Paris.

Prelimi-  
naries of  
peace.

Happily the pacific disposition of the British court set bounds to the ambition of that general, and notwithstanding the opposition of the emperor and the states general, the preliminaries of peace were signed; by which a barrier was secured to the allies, Dunkirk demolished, &c. Marlborough was stripped of his employments, but preserved the riches which he had acquired during the war. Accused of peculation, he would perhaps have fallen a victim to the tories, if the queen had not, by prudent moderation, spun out to a great length the odious prosecution.

Marlbo-  
rough de-  
prived of  
his em-  
ploy-  
ments.

Prince Eu-  
gene in  
London.

It was in vain that prince Eugene came to London, in hopes of defeating the views of the ministry. He was received with honour, but his hopes were frustrated; yet he gave an eminent proof of his esteem for the disgraced hero. One day, when dining with the earl of Oxford, (Harley) the author of the revolution in the ministry, that minister said, that he congratulated himself on having the greatest general in Europe at his table:—*If I am,* replied the prince, *I owe it to you.* Marlborough could not be more highly praised, nor more amply revenged for the insults of his enemies.

The Dutch  
obliged to  
join in the  
confere-  
nces.

To see England upon the point of abandoning them, was a just punishment for the arrogance of the Dutch. They were informed, in the queen's name, that if they deferred to concur in the preliminaries, the delay would

be

be construed into a refusal ; upon which they consented to open the conferences at Utrecht, which ended in a peace that ought to have been eagerly promoted by all the powers of Europe.



## EPOCH OF LOUIS XIV.

## BOOK IV.

[Containing the End of the Reign of Louis XIV. and the History of the Czar Peter I. and Charles XII.]

## CHAP. I.

*Negotiations of Utrecht.—Victories of France.—End of the War in 1714.*

1712.  
The emperor &  
the Dutch  
oppose the  
peace.

THE congress of Utrecht was opened in January 1712, but did not at first keep pace with the expectations of Louis XIV. However desirous queen Anne was of having a peace, she wanted as much as possible that the allies should be satisfied; but their wishes were by no means pacific. The emperor Charles VI. opposed the dismembering of the Spanish monarchy; and the Dutch did not confine their pretensions to the barrier which they demanded. Their negotiations were always carried on with a captious insincerity, never explaining their demands, but waiting to make such as contingences recommended, and wanting to reduce France to accept such terms as they should please to offer.

Embar-  
rassment  
of the  
English  
plenipo-  
tentiaries.

On the other hand, the English plenipotentiaries were reserved and timid, from the apprehension of changes so common in England; a dread the better founded, as they foresaw a new reign. "These plenipotentiaries," says Torci, "so far from speaking freely to those of France, still talked the language of enemies. They minutely obeyed their orders, and their instructions were the pledges of their conduct. It is dangerous to act otherwise in a country liable to such changes, where, according as parties prevail, they may be

“be judged worthy either of rewards or punishments ;  
 “an unfortunate uncertainty, to which the plenipoten-  
 “taries of France were not exposed, as they had only  
 “to obey the king, whom alone they were to please,  
 “and which they were sure of doing by the punctual  
 “execution of clear and exact instructions given to  
 “them, without any secret reserve, by his majesty.”  
 This anecdote gives a sufficiently just idea of the differ-  
 ence of the two governments ; and Torci, no doubt,  
 preferred that of Versailles.

To so many causes of delay was added an unforeseen  
 obstruction, which arose from the domestic calamities  
 that befel Louis XIV. In 1711, he had lost his only  
 son the dauphin ; and the duke of Burgundy, who next  
 succeeded to that title, likewise died at the age of thir-  
 ty ; a prince deserving universal regret, since from him  
 was expected the reign of a sage. His wife the dau-  
 phiness, an accomplished princess, had ended her life  
 but six days before him ; and, in a few days after, their  
 eldest son, the duke of Bretagne, expired. The duke  
 d'Anjou (Louis XV.) was threatened with approaching  
 death. The right of succession to the crown might  
 therefore very soon descend to the king of Spain, who  
 was the second son of the first dauphin ; and, by this  
 chain of misfortunes, the union of the two crowns,  
 which was the cause of apprehensions in Europe, was  
 no longer improbable.

New ob-  
 struction  
 by the  
 death of  
 the chil-  
 dren of  
 France.

This determined queen Anne to demand, as an es-  
 sential condition of the peace, that Philip V. should  
 purely and simply renounce the crown of France, and  
 transfer his title to his younger brother, the duke de  
 Berri. The council of Versailles were of opinion, that  
 such a renunciation must be null, from the fundamental  
 laws of the kingdom, and had the honesty to declare it ;  
 and Torci maintained that judgment upon a passage in  
 Jérôme Bignon, who supposes, that the fundamental  
 law to which this refers is, in the eyes of the people, the  
 work of God himself, and that it can only be abolished  
 by

The re-  
 nuncia-  
 tion of  
 Philip V.  
 was de-  
 manded.

According  
 to the  
 court of  
 Versailles,  
 it would  
 have been  
 null.

by him. They might have reasoned better than Jérôme Bignon on the subject, without wounding the incontestible rights of the reigning family : in important affairs especially, none but solid reasons should be alledged.

Answer of  
Boling-  
broke.

Bolingbroke, the queen's secretary, prudently replied, " We are willing to believe, that in France you are persuaded that none but God can abolish the law upon which you found the right of succession : but we must be pardoned for believing in England, that a prince may depart from his claims by a voluntary renunciation ; and that he in whose favour it has been made, may with justice be supported in his pretensions by those powers who have guaranteed the treaty."

Alternative pro-  
posed to  
the king  
of Spain.

Necessity, which pleads stronger than any argument, very soon persuaded Louis, who advised his grandson to take this unavoidable step. To facilitate the peace, England proposed another alternative ; either that Philip should make the proposed renunciation, or yield Spain to the duke of Savoy, to receive in exchange his dominions, with Montferrat, Mantua, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily : so that if he, or any of his descendants, should succeed to the crown of France, it might be reunited to all these territories, except Sicily, which should be detached for the family of Austria.

He con-  
sents to  
the renun-  
ciation, a-  
gainst the  
desire of  
Louis XIV

Louis preferred the last expedient. In writing to the king of Spain—*I shall look upon it as the greatest happiness of my life*, said he, *if you take the resolution to come nearer to me, and to preserve claims which you will fruitlessly regret, if you ever abandon them.* But Philip, alledging that he owed it to his own glory, and the zeal of his subjects, preferred Spain, consented to the renunciation, and agreed to a suspension of arms. The English desired to have Dunkirk put into their hands till the peace should be concluded ; and it was agreed to, because a mutual confidence reigned between the two courts, and they were anxious to have the peace concluded.

Holland,



Holland, however, had redoubled her efforts for the first campaign; Quesnoi was taken by prince Eugene, who proposed to the duke of Ormond, the English general, to engage the French. It was at this time the suspension of hostilities between England and France was declared. The duke separated from the allies; but most of the foreign troops who were in the queen's pay refused to follow him; and prince Eugene, who still had a superiour army, laid siege to Landreci. France was reduced to the greatest extremity; and it was debated in council, whether the king should leave Versailles. He was resolved, in case of a new disaster, to assemble the nobility, to lead them against the enemy, and to die with his arms in his hands. That monarch, who appeared greater in adversity than when surrounded with the pomp of victories, interests the feelings of the heart, after having long dazzled the eye.

The English separate from the allies.

Prince Eugene besieges Landreci.

Courage of the king.

It was now time that the enemy should experience, in their turn, how much men are blinded in trusting to fortune. A parish priest and a magistrate of Douay were the first that conceived it would be easy to attack two essential posts of prince Eugene, whose lines were excessively extended, and at a great distance from his camp. An idea conceived by accident may be productive of great consequences. Upon the information given to the marshals Villars and Montesquieu, the plan of an enterprize was laid, by which France was preserved. What was not to be dreaded, if it did not succeed!

Project for attacking the enemy

Villars made a feint, as if he wanted to attack prince Eugene's camp; and, having amused him, suddenly fell upon Denain, where the duke of Albemarle was entrenched; and, having forced the entrenchments, made the duke, and all who were with him, prisoners; rapidly carrying the different posts along the Scarpe. He next attacked Marchiennes, where the magazines of the enemy were deposited, and carried it in three days. Prince Eugene raised the siege of Landreci, and lost St. Amand,

Battle of Denain, & its consequences.

Amand, Douai, le Quesnoy, and Bouchain. He retreated, after having lost a great part of his army, without coming to an action, forty battalions being made prisoners. From that time the superiority seemed to be on the side of France, and the enemies of the peace were punished for their imprudence and cruel ambition.

Renun-  
ciation of  
Philip,  
how pub-  
lished in  
France.

Then it was that Philip V. made a solemn renunciation, and the court of Great Britain insisted upon its being ratified by the states general of France. "But," says Torci in his Memoirs, "the authority which foreigners ascribe to the states being unknown in France, this clause was changed by the king: he only promised to accept the renunciation of the king his grandson; that it should then be published by his order, and in the most solemn manner registered in all the parliaments of the kingdom." In fact, from the year 1614, the national assembly was only to be heard of in history. The duke of Berri, brother of Philip, in the same manner renounced the crown of Spain, in case he succeeded to that of France; as did likewise the duke of Orleans. The best security for these renunciations was undoubtedly the apprehensions of Europe for the balance of power.

The  
Cortes  
change the  
order of  
succession  
in Spain.

The *Cortes*, which had formerly been so powerful in Spain, but at present are forgotten, like the states general of France, confirmed the renunciation of Philip. They did more; for they changed the order of succession in favour of the males, instead of the females, who inherited the Spanish monarchy preferably to princes who were not so nearly related; and from that time it was established, that the males should have the preference. Had it not been for this regulation, the descendants of Philip V. might have seen the crown, by right of marriage, descend to foreigners, and the renunciation turn out to their disadvantage. An object of such importance merited the attention of the *Cortes*.

The  
Dutch, in  
their turn,

The court of Great Britain having removed every obstruction to a peace on their side, the tone of the Dutch

Dutch was changed, and they humbly begged to re-humble themselves to obtain a new those conferences which they had broken off. The abbé Polignack, second plenipotentiary of Louis XIV. wrote in the following terms: "We act the same part as the Dutch did at Gertruydenberg, and they act ours: this is complete revenge. Count Zinzendorff (the emperor's minister) feels his declension very severely." Struck with dismay at the last campaign, the states general were obliged to follow the steps of England, whatever efforts were made to prevent them by the court of Vienna.

At last the peace was signed at Utrecht, agreeably to the preliminaries settled with Louis. We shall give an abridgment of the principal articles.

1713.  
Treaty of  
Utrecht.

1. France obliges herself not to suffer the pretender in her dominions, nor to acknowledge the claims of the house of Stuart. She guarantees the order of succession settled in favour of the house of Hanover. (The English parliament had declared, that if queen Anne died without children, the crown was to descend to the princess Sophia, daughter of the elector palatine Frederick V. the grand daughter of James I. and the mother of George I. who succeeded in virtue of that act. Forty five people were reckoned, who, by their birth, had a preferable title; but the English consulted only their hatred against the Catholic league.) Hudson's Bay, the islands of St. Christopher and Newfoundland, Acadia or Nova Scotia, to be ceded to England; important acquisitions in America. The harbour of Dunkirk to be filled up, and the fortifications to be demolished, with a promise never to repair them. Spain yielded to Great Britain Gibraltar, the island of Minorca, and the *assiento* or negro-trade for thirty years.

Articles  
for Eng-  
land.

2. France engaged to deliver up the Spanish Low Countries to the states general, for the house of Austria to enjoy the perfect sovereignty. No part of these provinces can ever belong to that crown, nor even to any prince of the blood. The Dutch shall garrison those places

Barrier of  
Holland.



places destined for a barrier (according to a treaty which they had concluded with England) to which shall be added Tournai, Ipres, Menin, &c. but Lille, Aire, Bethune, St. Venant, in exchange, to be restored to Louis XIV.

The duke  
of Savoy,  
king of  
Sicily, &c.

3. The duke of Savoy to be acknowledged heir to the Spanish monarchy, failing the posterity of Philip V. The summit of the Alps to be the boundary between France and his dominions. Exille, Fenestrelle, Châteaueu Dauphin, &c. to be ceded to him. Spain likewise ceded to him the kingdom of Sicily, under a clause of reversion, failing heirs male. Victor Amadeus was a great gainer by his defection.

House of  
Bavaria.

4. The elector of Bavaria to keep Luxemburgh and the county of Namur until he shall be recompensed for his losses. (Philip V. had given him the sovereignty of the Spanish Low Countries, of which he only retained this part.) The kingdom of Sardinia was likewise granted to him. The re-establishment of that prince, and his brother the elector of Cologne, was always one of the principal objects of the generosity of the king of France.

House of  
Austria.  
The em-  
pire.

5. Besides the Low Countries, the kingdom of Naples and the Milanese were left to the house of Austria. Louis yielded Landau, Kehl, and Brisack, to the empire. The elector of Brandenburg to be acknowledged king of Prussia, to whom Spanish Guelderland was to be ceded.

Portugal.  
Spain.

6. Portugal to be comprehended in the general peace. All the contracting powers acknowledged Philip V. who lost no part of his dominions, except such as were rather hurtful than advantageous to Spain, from their distance.

Charles  
VI. suffers  
for not  
conclud-  
ing a  
peace.

The emperor Charles VI. by acquiescing in the peace of Utrecht, would have gained some certain advantages, and have happily put an end to a war which made Europe stream with blood for thirteen years. He flattered himself with the hope of wresting new concessions from France, without the assistance of England  
and

and Holland : a rash expectation ! and he had cause for repentance. Villars took Landau, crossed the Rhine, defeated general Vaubonne, made himself master of Fribourg, by this means compelled the emperor to accept a peace, and had the honour of concluding it with prince Eugene at Raftadt.

By this treaty France preserved Landau, and the frontiers were left exactly the same as at the peace of Ryfwick. Charles got from the Spanish monarchy what had been ceded to him at Utrecht. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne had their dominions restored by the emperor ; but neither he nor the empire acknowledged the king of Spain, who, on his part, did not acknowledge the emperor. However, their titles were not less determined. The peace with the empire was signed at Baden.

1714.  
Treaty of  
Raftadt.

How obnoxious are ambitious politicians to be mistaken in their calculations ! It was expected that France would be stript of a number of provinces ; yet she lost nothing in Europe but some of those places which she had formerly conquered. If we reflect upon the offers made by Louis at the conference of Gertruydenberg, we must be sensible, that, independent of the cause of humanity, it is a folly to refuse peace, when it can be made to advantage : and what shall we think of the conquests of Louis XIV. purchased by so many wars equally ruinous and bloody ?

Ambi-  
tious po-  
licy sub-  
ject to be  
deceived.

Nothing remained for the king of Spain to reduce, but Catalonia, which continued obstinately to refuse submission, and, though deprived of all assistance, still preserved an enthusiastic love of liberty. Louis sent some troops and a squadron, and they laid siege to Barcelona both by sea and land ; but the inhabitants defended themselves like madmen. Their courage was inflamed to a degree of fanaticism by their priests and monks, of whom, it is said, more than five hundred fell with arms in their hands. However, the marechal de Berwick obliged this great city to capitulate, when the

Catalonia  
at last  
subdued.

most guilty were punished, and the privileges of the province abolished.

Second  
marriage  
of Philip  
V. with  
Elizabeth  
Farnese.

Philip V. in quiet possession of his kingdom, always shewed a blind submission to his favourite, the princess Ursini, who had governed the queen, Mary Louisa of Savoy. Upon the death of the queen, it was reported, that she was to be succeeded by the princess Ursini; but, led by the deceitful information of Alberoni, an ecclesiastic of low birth, a native of Placentia, she persuaded the king to marry Elizabeth Farnese, heiress of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, whom that Italian represented as a woman void of spirit, of a weak understanding, and, of course, easily governed. Nothing could be more unjust than this picture. Elizabeth had scarcely set foot in Spain, when the favourite not being sufficiently guarded in her discourse, she caused her to be immediately dismissed, and all the ministry to be changed. Orri, whose zeal to restore the finances occasioned commotions in Spain, and chiefly in the inquisition, from his meddling with the privileges of the church, was sent back to France. Alberoni, a man of extensive genius and bold temper, very soon got the reins of government into his hands, and formed vast projects, which, as we shall have occasion to observe, brought on his own destruction.

Revolu-  
tion at  
court.



## CHAPTER II.

*Death of Queen Anne, and the Affairs of England.—Death of Louis XIV.*

IF party spirit had not stifled the feelings of nature, and obscured the light of reason, queen Anne would have been universally celebrated as the benefactress of the human race: She brought to an end a most dreadful war, where relations fought against relations; where the particular interests of a few princes gave up the finest countries in Europe to fire and sword; and the ambition of some generals sacrificed the blood and treasure of the people unnecessarily. She shewed every possible regard for the interest of her allies, though they did not furnish their contingences, and persevered against her equitable measures. She gloriously freed her kingdom from the burden of a ruinous war, which was only interesting to the Austrian power. She obtained the approbation of her parliament, where the commons complained of being burdened with nineteen millions during the course of the war. In a word, the great work which crowned the glory of her reign deserves the highest applause.

What glory queen Anne acquired by the peace.

The whigs, however, railed against the peace with unbounded licentiousness; and the nation was overrun with libels and satires, and reports were spread the most likely to inflame hot headed men. The queen, said they, wants to place her brother, the pretender, on the throne; popery will prevail, the laws are threatened, the constitution is in danger. These seditious rumours disturbed the parliament; and, notwithstanding the prudent representation of the queen, they offered a reward of five thousand pounds sterling to whoever should seize the person of the pretender, if he attempted to effect a

The whigs, however, declaim against it.

descent in the kingdom. He had withdrawn to Lorraine.

1714.  
Anne  
dies.

Queen Anne, consumed with vexation which increased her infirmities, died in the fiftieth year of her age : a good princess, but of narrow genius and a weak character, though she loved her people, and lived a life of virtue. Her reign was an uninterrupted series of prosperity, which she owed to her generals and ministers.

The union  
of Eng-  
land and  
Scotland  
into one  
kingdom.

In 1706 she executed a scheme which had been fruitlessly attempted by king William ; the uniting of England and Scotland into one kingdom, by the name of Great Britain. The intractability of the Scots, the mutual antipathy of the two nations, the disturbances continually springing from these principles, rendered the project extremely useful, but at the same time increased the obstructions. The treaty, of which the following are the principal articles, was at last concluded. 1st. That all the subjects of Great Britain shall have the same privileges and the same laws : 2d. That the whole kingdom shall be represented by one parliament, into which sixteen peers and forty five commoners of Scotland shall be admitted : 3d. That all the peers of Scotland shall enjoy the same privileges as those of England, except the right of sitting in parliament. This exception was attacked, as contrary to the fundamental laws and essential rights of the peerage. The church of Scotland, which was Presbyterian, occasioned another subject of dispute ; for the antipathy of the sects was not then extinguished : they exaggerated the inconveniences, and lessened the advantages. But now that the ferment is dispersed, what appeared at that time a monster, is no longer any thing. Experience, sooner or later, causes chimeras to vanish ; so rare is it to do a great public good, without some particular inconvenience !

Property  
required  
to be ad-

It was declared by a law passed in this reign, that no man could be the representative of a county in parliament,

ment, unless he had six hundred pounds sterling a year in land; and for a borough, one half of that sum. This law was made with a view of excluding those who were only traders, from an assembly where the possessors of landed property were thought more worthy of being the representatives of the nation. William had introduced the shameful practice of bribing both the electors and elected. This evil was of such a nature as to increase continually; and the mischief still grew worse under a foreign family, which had more need of that resource to support its authority.

Bribery  
very common.

Such were the prejudices occasioned by the imprudent zeal of the last of the Stuarts, that in the dread of seeing a Catholic upon the throne, the English preferred the dominion of a foreigner, to that of a prince of the royal family—to an Englishman. The princess Sophia being dead, her son, the elector of Hanover, was without difficulty acknowledged by the name of George I. It was a prodigious inconvenience, that the king of England, as a prince of Germany, had some interests which were worse than indifferent to his kingdom; but his people only thought of being delivered from a Catholic family, and to banish for ever every idea of popery.

The English prefer a foreigner to the Stuarts.

George, who at his accession was fifty four years of age, and already distinguished by his personal merit, ought, it would seem, to hold the balance between the whigs and the tories, rather than to foment the spirit of faction, by declaring in favour of the one against the other; but whether he thought that to be impossible, or his interest or inclination led him to the party most opposite to the Stuarts, the whigs immediately gained his whole confidence. Marlborough was again placed at the head of the army, and Bolingbroke was dismissed from the ministry. A parliament devoted to the court, (which did not neglect the means of corruption) after having fixed the ordinary revenue of the crown at seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, very soon began to persecute

George I. declared too openly for the whigs.



An universal  
change at  
court.

Unjust se-  
verities.

Commo-  
tions of  
the Jaco-  
bites.

Septen-  
nial par-  
liament.

Works at  
Mardyke.

Le Tel-  
lier, the  
king's  
confessor,  
a dange-  
rous man.

persecute the tories. The duke of Ormond, Bolingbroke, and Oxford, were accused of high treason ; the two first withdrew to France ; and, failing to appear, a bill of attainder was found against them ; and Oxford, who had been dismissed a little before the death of queen Anne, remained two years in the Tower before he was discharged ; he was even excepted from an act of indemnity, which was published too late.

It was impossible but the severities of the new government must occasion disturbances ; the Jacobites, or the pretender's party, prepared for a rebellion, and the minister was exposed to the same storms in which so many eminent persons had fallen victims. It was this which inspired him with a bold scheme, dangerous for the constitution, but exceedingly useful to the royal authority, and which succeeded beyond the king's expectations. As that parliament was exceedingly docile, it was proposed to extend their duration to seven years, and specious pretences overruled every good reason ; so that the bill passed into a law. Thus triennial parliaments, which were a barrier set up against the attempts of the crown in the time of king William, were destroyed by the influence of the court. Since that time some attempts have been made to restore them, and perhaps more will be made equally unsuccessful.

Louis XIV. did not long survive queen Anne ; however, he again experienced the haughtiness of the English. Having demolished Dunkirk, as had been stipulated, he made a harbour at Mardyke, comparable to the one which was destroyed ; of which the English ambassadour having haughtily complained, the work was abandoned, to prevent a rupture.

Some new theological disputes being stirred up by the king's confessor, poisoned the close of his reign. Father le Tellier, a violent, severe, haughty man, and bigoted theologian, directed, according to his pleasure, the conscience of the old monarch, who was more than ever susceptible of the impressions of false zeal. The

*reflections*

*reflections* of Quesnel, a father of the oratory, upon the New Testament, had a tincture of Jansenism. It was easy, with a little attention, to discover in that book the spirit of the port royal, which at that time was so suspected and decried : but it was as easy to foresee, that by persecuting the author, the readers, and favourers of the book, infinitely more harm would be done, than by some false propositions scattered through four volumes of piety. But this is never thought of by those who endeavour to direct the opinions of men by force.

Book of  
F. Ques-  
nel.

A hundred and one propositions of Quesnel, which le Tellier wanted to discredit, were condemned in 1713, by the famous bull *unigenitus* of Clement XI. It would have, perhaps been better to have lessened the number, and not to have incurred the reproach of having placed among them some respectable truths. One of the propositions was—*The dread of an unjust excommunication ought not to prevent a man from doing his duty.* Whatever bad sense might be put upon it, it afforded matter of dispute and railing. The acceptance and registration of this bull was made an affair of state. The king's confessor having met with numberless obstacles, though he had the nomination to the vacant benefices, employed the most hateful intrigues, issued *lettres de cachet* in vast numbers, stirred up a great part of the nation, drew an irreconcilable hatred upon his order, and poisoned the latter years of his master's life, to erect the constitution of the pope into a law of the church and kingdom.

The ex-  
cesses of  
F. le Tel-  
lier a  
source of  
distan-  
ces.

By an edict which was registered in 1714, the king called his legitimated children to the succession, failing the princes of the blood, with whom he put them upon a level ; but this edict was revoked in 1717. His will, which settled a regency, was not regarded after his death ; and the duke of Orleans caused it to be annulled by an arret.

Edict in  
favour of  
the legiti-  
mated  
princes.

If Louis XIV. committed some great faults, during a reign of seventy two years, he in some degree confessed it, when he made use of the following memorable expressions

1715.  
Louis  
confesses  
his faults.

expressions to his successor :—*Endeavour to preserve peace with your neighbours. I have been too fond of war; do not imitate me in that, nor in being too expensive. Take advice on all occasions; and endeavour to discover the best, that you may always follow it. Relieve your people as soon as you can, and do that which unfortunately I could not do.* He chiefly advised him never to forget his duty to God; a powerful motive to remind sovereigns of what they owe to men.

His death.  
The people rejoice at it, because he did not resemble Henry IV.

He preserved that courage to the last which characterizes a vigorous mind. *Why do you weep,* said he to his domestics; *did you think I was immortal?* He died the first of September 1715, in the seventy eighth year of his age; leaving the state burdened with a debt of two thousand millions. The misfortunes which the people had long been suffering, the taxes, the public misery, and the ferment occasioned by the bull, made them forget his days of prosperity, and those sentiments which he deserved on several accounts. “It is alledged that his mother, the queen, said to him one day when he was very young—*My son, endeavour to resemble your grandfather, and not your father.* The king having asked the reason—*It is,* said she, *because the people wept at the death of Henry IV. and laughed at that of Louis XIII.”* (Voltaire.)

Yet the nation is much indebted to him.

The death of Louis XIV. was in general rather a cause of joy than of sorrow; but the arts, learning, the sciences, urbanity, the pleasures of social life, civil laws, good order, domestic tranquillity, perfection in many things; in one word, a part of those advantages which we enjoy at present, ought to immortalize his memory.



## CHAP. III.

*Rise of the Czar Peter the Great, till the War with Charles XII.*

**W**E have for a long time lost sight of the northern powers, because they had no share in the war which was entered into to secure the Spanish succession; yet Charles XII. king of Sweden, and in a more particular manner his rival, the czar Peter I. made themselves famous by their courage and enterprises. Let us introduce the abridgment of their history in this place; it is too interesting for us to be without a knowledge of it, and is even necessarily linked with that of the southern countries of Europe. Peter the Great, who stands forth the first, was in some degree the wonder of his age. Russia, or Muscovy, which was almost unknown before his time, is become, by his industry, worthy of fixing the attention of the whole world; he may be said to have created or fostered the seeds of all those surprising improvements which have been made, and still are executing, in that country.

The north deserves to fix our attention under the czar Peter I. and Charles XII.

This empire, in its length from east to west, comprehends an extent of about nineteen hundred leagues, (of which fourteen hundred and seventy belong to Siberia) and in its greatest breadth about seven hundred. The Roman empire was never so extensive; but an immensity of country almost entirely a desert, destitute of arts, commerce, government and learning, forms only an obscure, unstable power, subject to a thousand revolutions. The glory of states ought to be derived from the same source with their power.

The empire of Russia immense & unknown.

Christianity had been introduced into Russia about the end of the tenth century, by the zeal of a princess, as it had been into France, England, Poland, Hunga-

Christianity in Russia.

ry, &c. where the women have had such a share in the conversion of princes, which has been followed by that of their people. The Russian church, at first under the power of the patriarch of Constantinople, at the end of the sixteenth century had an independent patriarch. In other respects the Christianity of this nation, like that of the old barbarians, consisted only in absurd superstitions, of which the patriarch took advantage to rule the sovereign.

John Ba-  
silowitz,  
&c.

I formerly mentioned the czar John Basilowitz, who freed the Russians from the yoke of the Tartars, extended his conquests to the Caspian Sea, and added Casan and Astracan to his dominions. Russia was torn in pieces after his death, and the counterfeit Demetrius set the whole

Michael  
Romanow.

empire in combustion. Michael Romanow,\* the son of an archbishop, whom he made patriarch, was placed upon the throne by the principal boyards in 1613, amidst civil disturbances and the ruin of the royal family. After having ceded Smolensko to Poland, and In-

Alexis  
Michaelow-  
witz.

gria to Sweden, he continued to reign in peace, and was succeeded, in 1645, by his son Alexis Michaelowitz, who retook Smolensko, and made some other acquisitions from the Poles. He even contended for the crown of Poland, and offered to add it to his own. He published the first Russian code, established some manufactures, peopled deserts, and, what was more, he was the father of Peter the Great.

Peter the  
successor  
of Fædor.

Fædor Alexiowitz, the eldest son and successor of Alexis, laboured, like his father, to civilize Russia; but he died young, in 1682, without leaving any children; and, knowing the inability of John his brother by a first marriage, named Peter, who was of a second, his heir, though he was then only two years of age, but who had already given proofs of a superiour genius. The princess Sophia, sister of the two princes, committed some dreadful excesses to secure the crown to John, or rather to seize the government into her own hands. She roused

Attempts  
of the  
princess  
Sophia.

the

\* *Sw*, at the end of the Russian names, is pronounced *of*.

the rage of the Strelitz; a body of militia consisting of about thirty thousand men, similar to the Turkish Janizaries. She carried her point so as to cause her two brothers to be proclaimed, and herself associated with them as co-regent, and in this manner reigned some years with her favourite Basilus Galitzin; but a conspiracy against the life of Peter, which was probably formed by her, brought on her own ruin. Peter assembled some troops; punished the seditious; confined Sophia in a monastery; and, leaving only an empty title to John, made himself master of the empire in 1689.

That prince, bred up in ignorance by an ambitious sister, addicted to wine and debauchery, of a habit which led him to be guilty of every excess, but of a genius capable of executing the greatest enterprises, had already conceived the scheme of reforming the empire. He wanted to introduce arts, sciences, military discipline, the advantages of a navy, and whatever had rendered the other states of Europe flourishing; in one word, he wanted to create a new nation. When we reflect that the Russians had all the prejudices of barbarism, that they reckoned it a crime to go out of their own country, and looked upon foreigners with aversion, this project may appear chimerical. But if we consider the influence of authority, and particularly the example of an absolute sovereign, the ascendancy of his genius, supported by invincible steadiness, and the helps he might derive from the knowledge diffused in other countries, the design deserves admiration, and the consequence will be expected to enable us to judge with prudence.

A single ray of light sometimes leads great men to incredible success. The czar wanted only ideas; and they were given to him by le Fort, a Genevan of birth and merit, who was the principal instrument of a most wonderful revolution. He was a young man, whom the fire of youth and a desire of making his fortune had drawn to Moscow. Peter, having got acquainted with him, favoured him with his friendship; and perhaps this

Scheme  
of reform-  
ing the  
empire.

This  
grand  
scheme  
not chi-  
merical.

Le Fort  
the con-  
fident of  
the czar.



this solid union had pleasure for its basis ; but, even in pleasures, the society of le Fort gave birth to great designs. He had seen a great deal, but without studying any thing thoroughly ; and his penetrating genius was to enlighten and direct that of the czar.

His first attempts for the army and marine.

The army and the marine were the main objects which first engaged the attention of that prince. Being resolved, in some future period, to abolish the Strelitz, whose dreadful seditions sometimes shook the throne, he undertook to form officers and soldiers, and to make them submit to a discipline hitherto unknown. Le Fort began with one company, which increased to a regiment of twelve thousand men. To set an example of subordination to the boyards, Peter served in the quality of a drummer, and advanced gradually, one step after another, in his army : he pursued his plan with wonderful zeal, and, by steady perseverance, accomplished his purpose. He took the same measures to form a navy ; he caused vessels to be built by foreigners, and learnt the art of working them ; and, though he had scarce a shadow of a fleet, he appointed le Fort admiral, always enlarging his views in the glorious career which he had opened to himself.

Treaty of peace with the Chinese.

In 1689 he concluded a treaty with Camhi, emperor of China, on account of some forts, for which they contended, near the river Amur. Seven Chinese ambassadors presented themselves upon the spot, and the boundaries were settled. China had never before sent an embassy, nor concluded a treaty with any other power. " This nation," says M. de Voltaire, " so renowned for the practice of morality, was ignorant of what we call *the law of nations* ; that is, those indetermined regulations of war and peace, privileges of public ministers, forms of treaties, the obligations which are the consequence, disputes about precedency and the point of honour." Two Jesuit missionaries smoothed the way for this unheard of negotiation between two nations whose languages had nothing in common.

common. The treaty was drawn up in Latin, and engraven upon two large pieces of marble, intended to mark the limits between the two empires. *The Sovereign Lord of all things* was invoked against those who should violate their oath; and it seemed that both parties respected the same God.

The emperor Leopold, Poland, and Venice were at that time at war with the Turks; and Russia had already made a diversion in their favour. Peter, being desirous to inure his troops to war, and to profit by favourable conjunctures, undertook the siege of Azoph. This place, situated at the mouth of the Don, (the ancient Tanais) commands the sea, to which it gives its name, and opens a passage into the Euxine. The Ottoman empire had the greatest reason to preserve it, and the Russian to make a conquest of it. A first siege, in 1695, did not succeed, but the next year it was carried by the czar in person. His little fleet defeated the *zaicks*\* of Constantinople; an advantage likely to increase his confidence. A triumphal entry which he made at Moscow, when he walked among the crowd of officers in the train of the generals, was very well calculated to inspire courage and military subordination.

The genius of Peter would have been fettered, if it had not been for the foreigners he retained in his service. What models could he find in Russia, or what means for the execution? The more he learnt from those foreigners, the more was he sensible of the necessity of seeking information; and his passionate desire of performing great actions, inspired him with the resolution of going to the fountain of knowledge in person. He thought that he should withdraw from his dominions for a time, to travel as a private person, not as a monarch, and to search for whatever could be of use to his own empire, at the extremities of Europe. He named three ambassadours, le Fort and two Russians, with whom he intended to visit the powers with whom he

War with  
the  
Turks.

Taking of  
Azoph.

Triumph  
at Mos-  
cow.

Peter re-  
solves to  
travel for  
instruc-  
tion.

WAS

\* A kind of vessels proper for the Mediterranean.

was in alliance; and, having prudently provided for the wants of the state, and the management of public affairs, entered into the train of the ambassadours.

**His route.** He began his journey by Livonia, the most fertile province of the north, and subject to the crown of Sweden. The governour of Riga, by refusing him the satisfaction of viewing the fortifications; undoubtedly exasperated that haughty temper, already premeditating some schemes against the young king, Charles XII. From thence he passed on to Germany, where the debauchery of the table was but too agreeable to the tenour of Peter's life. When heated with wine at an entertainment, he drew his sword upon le Fort; but the sorrow with which he was penetrated, and his having begged pardon, defaced the remembrance of his passion. Alexander, the murderer of Clitus, was less excusable; since, by violating the rights of nature and friendship, he stifled the principles of an excellent education.

He is  
seized  
with a fit  
of rage  
against le  
Fort.

The czar  
in Hol-  
land and  
England.

It was in Holland that Peter became an object worthy of admiration, when, in the garb of a mechanic, known by the name of *master Peter* (Peterbas) he learnt whatever belonged to ship building, labouring and living with the workmen. He likewise studied anatomy, natural history, and the useful arts; esteeming it his greatest honour to practise whatever he wanted to establish in his own dominions. He went to perfect himself in England, where he was taught the mathematical proportions to be observed in ship building, and constructed one, which has been regarded as a model. Having at last attached some chosen men, of every profession, to his service, such as sea officers, pilots, surgeons, gunners, sailors, &c. he returned by the way of Vienna, either with a view of examining the German discipline or to transact some political affairs with the emperor Leopold, who was in alliance with him against the Turks. He left Moscow in April 1697, and did not return till September 1698; when his presence was become necessary.

His re-  
turn.



A barbarous, ignorant people are more easily provoked than others, at innovations which contradict the customs and manners of their country. The Russians saw unknown practices introduced by crowds of foreigners, and were provoked at the sovereign for having absented himself to acquire knowledge, and sending his subjects into other countries for improvement. He was taxed with impiety, for having granted permission to the English to sell tobacco in Russia; for the use of tobacco was prohibited by the priests as sinful; which last motive particularly roused the minds of the malecontents. They resolved to place the princess Sophia upon the throne; and the Strelitz, who were dispersed towards Lithuania, having assembled, revolted, and marched to Moscow; where they were met by the new regular troops, commanded by Shein a Prussian, and Gordon a Scotchman, and were totally defeated, which added to their hatred of foreigners.

Discontent of the Russians. Rebellion of the Strelitz.

Happily, the czar appeared when he was least expected. His disposition was cruel; he thought severity was necessary upon this occasion, and commanded numbers to be put to death. Two thousand of the Strelitz were sacrificed, the greatest part of the others confined at the extremities of the empire, and the remainder formed into some regiments, from whom no dangerous attempts were apprehended. "Osman, the sultan of the Turks," says M. de Voltaire, "was, in the same age, deposed and murdered, for having only given room for the Janizaries to suspect that he intended to lessen their number. Peter, having taken his measures better, was more fortunate." What is it of which a vigorous government is not capable, when it prepares for the execution of its designs with prudence?

This dangerous militia abolished.

Then it was that a general reformation began, not only in the army, but likewise in the administration, the manners, the customs, and also in the church. It could only be attempted by an absolute prince; and, for the execution, all the despotism of the czar was displayed.

A general reformation.

played. By it he at least laid the foundation of the real grandeur of the empire, and, we may add, the happiness of the Russians; if a people, by becoming civilized, can be truly happy without being free. Le Fort died, but this loss did not alter the plan of reformation. As the dislike to foreigners was one of the great obstructions to the designs of the czar, he thought it necessary to abolish the external marks by which they were distinguished from his subjects, who wore their beards and clothes long. His example was sufficient to effect it at court, but the people were so obstinate, that it was necessary to employ violence. A tax was laid upon the refractory, and the clothes and beards of those who refused to pay were cut. According to the writer of the czar's history, this was executed with an air of gaiety which prevented seditions, though undoubtedly there was enough to occasion them; but probably fear had a greater effect than a dissembled gaiety; besides, the bulk of the people still preserve their old dress.

Beards & long habits forbidden, and cut.

Patriarch abolished.

Law to lessen the number of monks.

Peter had experienced how dangerous the clergy became by their prejudices and cabals, when they acquire too great power. The patriarch being dead, that great dignity was suppressed, and the revenue added to the crown, the church receiving its laws from Peter, who kept it in constant subjection. Being desirous to lessen the number of monks, which he thought was the more hurtful to the state as the empire wanted inhabitants, he forbid their being admitted into the cloister before the age of fifty. If this law had continued, it had undoubtedly put an end to the monastic life, which has always had zealous defenders.

Other re-formations.

The beginning of the year was fixed at the first of January, instead of the first of September; the use of paper for writing was commanded; the custom of marrying, without the parties having seen each other, was wisely abolished; and these were reformations effected by the czar. A social spirit was diffused with the increase of knowledge, which time alone could bring to perfection.

When

When this prince was employing himself in the docks of Sardam in Holland, to learn the art of constructing and navigating ships, he undoubtedly conceived the design of creating a powerful navy, which might make him respected in Europe, and attract commerce into his dominions: but the port of Archangel, upon the White Sea, coming from which it is necessary to double Lapland and Norway, was badly situated for ~~the~~ purpose, since for seven months in the year it is inaccessible. The sea of Azoph and the Caspian were still more inconvenient, from their distance, though in other respects advantageous. It was therefore essentially necessary to extend his empire towards the Baltic. If he was actuated by ambition to seize from Sweden what she possessed on that coast, it was the ambition of a vast genius, which does not indulge itself in chimeras.

Project of  
extending  
his empire  
towards  
the Baltic.

By the treaty of Carlowitz with the Turk in 1699, Peter kept the important conquest of Azoph, but he had only obtained a truce of two years; however, he got it prolonged to twenty, and dedicated all his attention to the aggrandizement of his empire on the side of Europe. We shall now see him engaged with another Alexander.

Treaty of  
Carlowitz

#### C H A P. IV.

*Rise of Charles XII. King of Sweden.—He triumphs over all his Enemies, and dethrones Augustus King of Poland.*

**A**T the death of Charles XI. king of Sweden, in 1697, his son Charles XII. was only fifteen years of age, and seemed incapable of acquiring reputation on the throne; however, some circumstances which happened while he was very young, gave tokens of heroic qualities. Though obstinate, and averse from study,

Youth of  
Charles  
XII.



yet, when it was recommended as a means of acquiring glory, he got the better of his reluctance. He was particularly fond of reading Quintus Curtius; and one day when his preceptor asked him what he thought of Alexander, he replied—*I think I could wish to resemble him.*—*But he only lived to the age of thirty two,* added the preceptor.—*Is not that enough, when a man has conquered kingdoms?* This reply of the young prince was the occasion of his father's saying, that he would exceed the great Gustavus. When he ascended the throne, and was freed from the regency of his mother, all hopes of him were dispelled; he gave no application, and shewed he was of an impetuous, haughty temper; but danger very soon unveiled his genius and disposition. Three powerful enemies joined in a league to oppress him; and in that very instant he shewed himself a great man. Let us trace from its source a war of eighteen years, which laid waste the north, at the very time the southern countries of Europe were in a flame about the Spanish succession.

Enemies  
by whom  
he is  
threatened.

Charles  
XI. violated the  
privileges  
of the Livonians.

Patkul  
ex-cites three  
monarchs  
to join  
against  
Sweden.

Thousands of examples prove that despotism is contrary to the true interest of sovereigns; of which the following is a very remarkable instance. On the south side of the gulf of Finland, Sweden had got possession of Estonia and Livonia; an acquisition which was confirmed by the treaty of Olivia. She left the Livonians their privileges, for new subjects are at first treated with gentleness; but, according to the practice of despots, Charles XI. violated them when he thought it was for his advantage. Patkul, at the head of a deputation from Livonia, having claimed the rights of his country with a bold freedom, was condemned to suffer death; but he escaped, breathing indignation and revenge. After the death of that monarch, he found no difficulty to persuade the king of Poland, (Augustus elector of Saxony) and afterwards the czar Peter, that the weakness of the young king Charles XII. presented a valuable opportunity of recovering from Sweden those provinces which they had formerly lost. Frederick

Frederick IV. king of Denmark, was no less inclined to take advantage of contingences. The ancient convention of Christian III. with his brother Adolphus, with regard to the dutchies of Holstein Gottorp and Sleswick, which the kings of Denmark and the duke of Holstein ought to possess in common, was an inexhaustible source of disputes between the two branches. The duke of Holstein, the brother in law of Charles, being attacked by Frederick, had gone to Stockholm, and Sweden was already threatened by the arms of Denmark.

Grounds of the war with Denmark.

It was deliberated in council what means should be employed to avert so many dangers; and some of the council proposing to try negotiation—I am resolved, said the young king, *never to carry on an unjust war, and never to finish a just one until I have ruined my enemies. I shall attack the first who declares against me, and by defeating him I hope to deter the rest.* He instantly gave orders to prepare for war, changed his manner of living, reduced himself to the simplest dress, to the most frugal and common diet, renouncing all pleasures, and dedicating his life to fatigue and dangers.

Attending resolution of young Charles.

The king of Denmark had attacked Holstein, the king of Poland Livonia, and the Russians poured upon Ingria, a neighbouring province likewise belonging to Sweden. Charles XII. having embarked, very soon landed on the island of Zealand, where Copenhagen is situated, and made that capital tremble. Frederick made haste to conclude a peace, by indemnifying the duke of Holstein. This first war was at an end in six weeks. Having, for the first time, heard the whistling of balls, which were fired at him, Charles said—*Well, for the future this shall be my music.* He accustomed himself to it but too much; and that irresistible passion for war was seen to spring up, which nothing could disarm.

1700. Frederick IV. forced to accept a peace.

Augustus, king of Poland, had already raised the siege of Riga, the capital of Livonia; when Charles,

The Russians defeated at Narva.

impatient to be revenged of the czar, whom he with reason accused of having violated recent treaties of peace, hastened into Ingria, in the month of September, at the head of about nine thousand men. The Russian army, of about sixty thousand, had laid siege to Narva; when, taking advantage of a heavy snow, which the wind blew in their faces, he attacked them, and forced their intrenchments. Being seized with a panic, amidst the confusion principally occasioned by a want of discipline, thirty thousand men surrendered prisoners to a small number of Swedes: the artillery, consisting of forty five pieces of cannon, their camp, baggage, and every thing, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Such was the first campaign of a king of seventeen.

The czar  
is not dis-  
couraged.

While the Russians offered up lamentations to their patron saint Nicholas, and repeated an absurd prayer, composed by a bishop, in which the Swedes were represented as execrable forcerers, the czar was busily employed to repair his misfortune. Far from being disheartened, he was sensible that the excellent discipline of the enemy, and even their victories, would contribute to form his troops.—*They will long continue superiour to us*, said he, *but they will teach us at last to conquer*. Peter made new preparations, and even the bells of Moscow were melted into cannon; the lakes of Peipus and Ladoga were covered with half galleys to fight the ships of Sweden; and all these works were directed by the prince, who gradually reaped the fruit of his application. The campaigns of 1701 and 1702 were a mixture of loss and success, both upon land and upon the lakes; but a victory which was gained by general Sheremetow, was followed by the taking of Marienburgh, a small town on the confines of Livonia and Ingria. It was at this place that a young woman of Livonia, called Catharine, was made prisoner, who from captivity ascended the throne, succeeded the czar, and worthily supplied his place.

His pre-  
parations  
followed  
by suc-  
cess.

Catharine  
taken pri-  
soner.

Noteburgh,



Noteburgh, at present Shluffelburgh, (the key town) a strong place situated on an island in the lake of Ladoga, and which may be called the key of Ingria and Finland, could not resist the efforts of the Russians, who mounted three breaches when they gave the assault: there scarcely remained a hundred Swedes capable of service, yet they would not capitulate till they had leave to prove the place could no longer be defended. By their ancient discipline they always did wonders. Mentzikow, who had been a pastry cook in his youth, but at this time was the favourite of the czar, decorated with the title of Prince, and, by his abilities and services, worthy of favour, was appointed governour of this new conquest. His success was a motive for inspiring emulation and jealousy, and it was of great importance to prefer men who were born to perform noble actions.

Important conquest of the Russians.

Swedish discipline.

Prince Mentzikow.

The king of Sweden, who was always victorious, had, in the mean time, reduced Courland, crossed Lithuania, and penetrated into the heart of Poland, where he wanted to dethrone Augustus, and afterwards to fall with his whole force upon Russia. Peter only executed his designs with the greater ardour; and, while he was employed in carrying on the war, and sending aid to his ally, laid the foundation of Petersburg at the bottom of the gulf of Finland, in a marshy country situated upon the Newa, which joins the lake of Ladoga. An infinite number of obstacles was surmounted in the execution of this undertaking; and at the end of five months a Dutch vessel came to carry on a trade at Petersburg, which then only consisted of two brick houses and some cottages (1703.) This growing town was very soon secured, by erecting the fort of Kronslot.

The foundation of Petersburg laid during the victories of Charles.

In 1704 the czar, in person, laid siege to Narva, and took it by assault; by this means wiping away the stain of the famous defeat of his troops by Charles XII. and, what did him still greater honour, he endeavoured to stop the brutal fury of his soldiers, which it is so difficult to restrain after an assault, while they are intoxicated

Taking of Narva; the conquest of Ingria by the Russians.

ed with success. Two of them, who disobeyed his orders, he killed with his own hands, and laying his sword afterwards upon the table of the town house—*This sword, said he to the conquered, is stained with the blood of my own soldiers, which I spilt for your preservation.* Too often cruel, in this instance he did homage to humanity. All Ingria submitted to the yoke, and prince Mentzikow was appointed governour. Peter had lately been lieutenant of bombardiers, under his command.

Let us rapidly follow the Swedish hero, who gave law to Poland, dethroned Augustus, caused another king to be chosen, and who seemed to fight with no other intention than to humble his enemies, without intending to profit by his victories.

A picture  
of Poland,  
miserable  
from the  
constitution  
of its  
government.

In a state so badly constituted as Poland, where the people are slaves, and cruelly oppressed; where the provinces, though fertile, are excessively poor; where an independent nobility free themselves from almost every obligation; where the deliberations of the diets are defeated by the opposition of one of the nobles; where the most important affairs are decided by the sword; where seditious confederacies tear in pieces the republic, upon pretence of maintaining the laws; where the authority of an elective king constantly gives umbrage to the licentiousness, rather than to the liberty of the nobles; where the malecontents have always to oppose to him the *pacta conventa*, which he swears at his consecration to observe, and dispenses his subjects from their obedience, if he dares to violate them; where the country is exposed, from a persuasion that fortresses would only serve to keep them in subjection; where civil order and military discipline are equally unknown; in a word, where all the abuses of the ancient Gothic government subsist, with this difference, that the body of the people are regarded as nothing, and a corrupt nobility commonly sell their suffrages: in such a miserable republic, which nature seemed to intend for a flourishing state, it

was

was almost impossible for Augustus to resist Charles of Sweden.

Being accustomed to absolute government in Saxony, he carried principles and ideas into Poland little suited to the genius of the nation. The Poles did not approve of the scheme of conquering Livonia, as they foresaw that such a conquest would make him more formidable to themselves; they loudly exclaimed against a war undertaken without their consent; and the party who at first opposed his election, already began to form cabals. Cardinal Radjowski, archbishop of Gnesna, primate of the kingdom, all powerful from his dignity, and equally dangerous from his artifices, secretly meditated a revolution. The generals and the great officers of the crown, though indebted to the king for their employments, were scarcely dependent upon him, because, though he had the right of appointment, he could not displace them. Augustus, having nobody upon whom he could depend but his Saxons, and pursued by a dreadful, persevering conqueror, was reduced to the greatest extremity. The important details which I am obliged to suppress, should be read in the history of Charles XII.

King Augustus was exposed to cabals in that country.

Pursued by Charles,

Charles, having made himself master of Warsaw in 1702, declared that he would not consent to a peace till another king was chosen. Augustus was then at Cracow; and, being resolved to come to action, was defeated at Clissaw, by an army only half his number: Cracow was taken; a Saxon general was defeated the next year; and Dantzick, Thorn and Elbing, free cities by their privileges, were obliged to pay a ransom for having made resistance. The primate, who had hitherto preserved the mask of fidelity, declared against the king at the assembly of Warsaw, and in 1704 the throne was declared vacant. Upon the refusal of prince Alexander Sobieski, one of the sons of the famous king of that name, Charles caused the election to fall upon Stanislaus Leczinski, a Palatine of Posenia, and treasurer of the crown,

who makes himself master of Poland.

Election of Stanislaus Leczinski,



crown, a young nobleman in whom he found several features of his own character.

The  
Swedes  
defeat the  
Russians  
and Sax-  
ons.

The czar did not abandon Augustus ; but, at a conference which they had at Grodno in Lithuania, they formed a new plan of operations. Sixty thousand Russians, dispersed in Poland, only served to lay waste the country, and were every where defeated in small parties by the Swedes. Schullenburgh, an able Saxon general, was defeated and put to flight at the battle of Franstadt, in 1706, by general Renchild, with an army greatly inferior, when fear did more than the arms of the enemy, and every thing was decided almost in a moment. Charles very soon made himself master of Saxony, which he laid under heavy contributions, but maintained that rigorous discipline which was the principal source of his victories.

Augustus  
negotiates  
privately.

Augustus, being driven to despair, secretly sued for peace ; and the conditions prescribed by Charles were, that he should renounce his crown, acknowledge Stanislaus, and deliver up Patkul. That Livonian was in the service of Russia, and had been sent by the czar to the king of Poland in quality of general and ambassador. During the negotiation, prince Mentzikow, from whom Augustus carefully concealed every thing, almost obliged him to attack a Swedish general at Kalisk. The Russians made the attack, and gained the victory, which was the first time of their defeating the Swedes in a regular engagement ; however, Augustus shamefully submitted to the terms prescribed by Charles, and signed a treaty without being able to procure better terms than the first. He was even obliged to write a complimentary letter to Stanislaus ; and Patkul, who was already confined upon an unjust suspicion, was given up to the king of Sweden, who, notwithstanding the complaints of the czar, caused the minister of that great prince to be broken upon the wheel. The sentence gave to Charles the title of most clement prince. *What clemency !* exclaimed Patkul. Hearing

He sub-  
mits to  
every  
thing,  
even af-  
ter a vic-  
tory.

Death of  
Patkul.

himself

himself condemned as a traitor to his country—*Alas !* added he, *I have served it but too well.* We here see to what degree of injustice despotism can hurry even great souls.

This peace, which was concluded in the camp of Altrenstat, near Leipzick, completed the fame of Charles XII. and, while there, he received a crowd of ambassadors. The war which was kindled against France and Spain set all Europe in commotion, and every power was solicitous of his alliance. It was suspected that he was inclined to join Louis XIV. though in 1700 he had promised a neutrality. The duke of Marlborough, who was as great a negotiator as general, came to sound his intentions; and, having soon discovered his design of carrying the war into Russia, left him without having made any proposals. The haughty and fortunate emperor Joseph yielded in several points which were required of him by the king of Sweden, before he quitted Germany; particularly in favour of the Protestants of Silesia.

Embassy  
to Charles  
XII.

In 1707 Saxony was delivered from the Swedes, who set out from that country loaded with plunder. Their hero, who made sport of every kind of danger, took a fancy, in passing, to pay a visit to Augustus. He hurried on before his army with some general officers, and, under a borrowed name, presented himself at the gate of Dresden: he entered, in his boots, the apartment of the king whom he had reduced to his electorate, and having breakfasted with him, visited the fortifications, and then joined his army, who were uneasy at his absence. *I trusted,* said he, *to my good fortune.*

His visit  
to the de-  
throned  
Augustus.

## CHAP. V.

*Charles XII. defeated at Pultarwa, flees into Turkey.—The Campaign of Pruth fatal to the Czar.—His Peace with the Turks.—Continuation of the War in the North.*

Obstinacy  
of Charles  
XII. a-  
gainst the  
czar.

THE czar was very near causing an election of a third king of Poland: it was thought of in a diet held at Lublin; and some Palatines were proposed, which would have been a new source of destruction and horrors for this ruined republic. However, the minister of France in Saxony endeavoured to reconcile the Swedes and Russians. Charles bluntly declared that he would treat with the czar in Moscow, and his presumption gave room for that excellent expression of Peter the Great—*My brother Charles wants to play the part of Alexander, but he shall not find me a Darius.* Here is the period in which a change of fortune befel that hero, who, from his faults and obstinacy, was more deserving of censure, than of admiration for his heroism.

1708.  
He plunges im-  
prudently  
into the  
heart of  
the Uk-  
raine.

At the head of forty five thousand men he entered Lithuania, where the czar then was; and having taken Grodno from him, advanced towards the Dnieper, (the Borysthenes) when he defeated a great body of Russians advantageously intrenched behind a torrent and morass at Holozin. He found himself upon the road to Moscow; but instead of pursuing it, having crossed the Dnieper, he turned to the south, and plunged into the Ukraine, the country of the Cossacks, which he expected soon to subdue, and then to fall upon the capital of Russia. The old Mazeppa, hetman or chief of the Cossacks, who had betrayed his sovereign the czar, inspired the king of Sweden with this fatal resolution, by promising to join him with an army, and to find him both provisions and money; promises which prudence should



should have weighed, but were trusted without examination,

Exposed to imminent dangers, he marched towards the Desna, which empties itself into the Dnieper, the place where Mazeppa was to have joined him ; but his attempts to engage the Cossacks in rebellion were fruitless. He did not appear, and provisions began to fail ; but general Lewenhaupt was advancing with sixteen thousand men, and all sorts of provisions, from Livonia ; yet this great resource soon vanished ; for Peter followed the general beyond the Dnieper, attacked him three following days, and at length defeated him. The Swedes lost above eight thousand men, all their cannon and convoy. In the heat of the action, the czar, observing some of his army giving way, gave orders to fire upon the fugitives, and even upon himself if he retired.

Mazeppa could not prevail with the Cossacks to revolt.

Peter defeats Lewenhaupt

Being informed of Mazeppa's treachery, he sent Mentzikow into the Ukraine, when Bathurin, the capital, the magazines and money of the hetman, were taken, and himself hanged in effigy. All his promises terminated in joining Charles with two or three thousand men, the rest of the Cossacks refusing to follow him.

He revenges himself of Mazeppa.

Notwithstanding the defeat of Lewenhaupt, who brought only the wreck of his army, and the excessive cold, which killed near two thousand Swedes on one march, the king of Sweden, destitute of provisions, continued his route through an unknown country, incessantly exposed to the attacks of the enemy, and crossed the whole Ukraine in the depth of winter, 1709. Having arrived before Pultawa, he laid siege to that town ; from whence he expected to pursue his march to Moscow, and to overturn the throne of the czar.

Charles continues his route.

The famous battle of Pultawa, in which both the monarchs equally signalized their courage and abilities, at last put an end to all his hopes. Charles, having been wounded some days before, was carried about in a litter, which was beaten in pieces by a cannon shot during the action. Peter, like him, was found in the

Battle of Pultawa, where he is defeated by the czar.

midst

midst of the hottest fire; and an engagement, which lasted only two hours, cost the lives of nine thousand Swedes. Fourteen thousand were taken prisoners, among which number was the first minister, count Piper, whose prudent counsels had not always been followed, Renschild, Lewenhaupt, and other generals. The Russians lost only about thirteen hundred men. "What is most important in this battle, (says the celebrated historian of the czar) is, that of all those which have stained the earth with blood, it is the single one which, instead of occasioning only destruction, has contributed to the happiness of the human race, by enabling the czar to civilize a great part of the earth." It is at least certain, that the greatness of Russia depended upon the life of one man; we shall see whether proper methods have been taken for its civilization.

His flight  
into Tur-  
key.

This formidable monarch Charles XII. compelled to fly, and even on horseback, though not able to mount one during the action, will appear, from this time, only an illustrious example of the vicissitudes of fortune, or rather, of the woes men bring upon themselves who make an ill use of prosperity. Though his strength was exhausted, he crossed the Dnieper, and then the Bogh (the ancient Hypanis.) He sought an asylum in Turkey, without deigning to write to the grand vizir. His unconquerable haughtiness and obstinacy always prevented him from regulating his conduct by circumstances.

How the  
czar pro-  
fited by  
the victo-  
ry.

Peter, who was incomparably more prudent, thought of profiting by the victory; and having invited the principal Swedish prisoners to his table, said to them—*I drink to the healths of my masters in the art of war; an expression equally honourable for him and for them.* He continued to shew that their lessons had rendered him worthy of being their conqueror. He made haste to restore Augustus to the throne of Poland, and entered into a league with that prince, the king of Denmark, and the elector of Brandenburg, the first king of Prussia.

fia. After having made a triumphal entry into Moscow, where he only appeared in quality of a major general, (how greatly must such ceremonies have animated the Russians!) he set out to take Wibourg, the capital of Karelia in Finland, and made himself master of Riga, the capital of Livonia. Both these provinces fell under his dominion.

1710.  
Conquest  
of Karelia  
and Livonia.

A Swedish general still had eleven thousand men in Pomerania; but the regency of Stockholm, not knowing whether the king was dead or alive, signed a neutrality for these troops. When Charles heard of this, he wrote to the senate, that *he would send one of his boots to govern them*. He thought he commanded slaves.

Instance  
of despotism  
in  
Charles.

With his train of eighteen hundred men he encamped near Bender, and was generously treated by the court of Constantinople; but he wanted that they should arm in his favour, and his agents employed as much address in their intrigues there, as his demeanour was haughty in his camp. A grand vizir who disapproved his designs, was disgraced; another, who imagined there was no lawful cause for going to war, was likewise dismissed, for reasons little known. A third determined the sultan Achmet III. to take up arms. The kan of the Crim Tartars had great influence in this resolution. Being in the vicinity of Azoph, he had every thing to dread from the Russians; and, as a vassal of the Porte, he had the same interests.

Intrigues  
at Constantinople  
in his  
favour.

When the sultan had determined to go to war, the divan (the council of the grand signor) caused the ambassadour of the czar to be arrested. This odious practice among the Turks is founded upon their contempt of the Christians; the law of nations being the more indifferent in their eyes, as they have no ambassadour in ordinary residing at other courts. A very extraordinary thing is, that a little before this, the czar had received the same affront in London in time of profound peace, his ambassadour being imprisoned for debt at the suit of a merchant; but as the English laws

The czar's  
ambassa-  
dour ar-  
rested.



laws did not decree that an offence of this nature, which could not be easily foreseen, was to be punished with death, all the satisfaction he could obtain was, that the authors of the insult were declared criminal, the parliament confirmed the privileges of foreign ministers, and queen Anne made a formal apology. As to the Turk, the insult remained unpunished, if he was not defeated.

Catharine  
Peter's  
second  
wife.

Peter hastened his preparations; but, before war was begun, he gave an extraordinary example of that strength of mind which rises above prejudices. The young Livonian captive, Catharine, whose elevation I mentioned before, found means to gain his affection and confidence, by a degree of merit rarely to be met with in the highest condition. In 1696 he had divorced his

Custom of  
the czars  
to marry  
one of  
their sub-  
jects.

first wife, who was born his subject. It is the custom in Russia for the emperor to assemble a number of beautiful women of his own empire, and to choose a wife from among them, upon which occasion the nobility are not entitled to any preference. However surprising such a custom, which is very ancient in the East, may appear in our eyes, it may be questioned if that of the European princes is much better, especially when we see so many wars and revolutions in consequence of their marriages with foreign princesses. The czar had at last privately married Catharine in 1707, and declared his marriage the very day he began his march against the Turks. Catharine accompanied him wherever he went; shared with him the same fatigues and dangers, soothed his sorrows, and moderated his transports: but she was now to render him a more important service.

1711.  
Cantemir,  
the vai-  
vode, de-  
ceives  
him by  
vain  
hopes.

The same fault of which Charles XII. had been guilty by trusting to the Cossacks, Peter likewise committed by depending upon a revolt which did not take place. Cantemir, the vaivode of Moldavia, gave him deceitful expectations. That province and Walachia, formerly known by the name of Dacia, were dependent on the Turks, and governed by petty princes or vaivodes, who were Christians nominated by the grand signor.

signor. So true it is, as we formerly mentioned, that a political toleration is admitted into the Mahometan system. Notwithstanding the mutual hatred between Turks and Christians, the last ought to be afraid to rebel, if they are not very certain of success. The intrigues of Cantemir to gain the other vaivode, only occasioned a slight agitation. Both provinces remained in submission; and the czar, who was persuaded that he should find both provisions and troops, advanced too rashly, and found himself in a most dangerous situation.

He passed the Niefter, the river upon which Bender is situated, and penetrated into Moldavia as far as Jassi upon the Pruth, a river which runs into the Danube. The Ottoman army, which is said to have amounted to near two hundred and fifty thousand men, comprehending the Tartars, passed the Pruth, surrounded the czar, cut off the communication between him and a considerable reinforcement which he expected, and he had only about forty thousand to oppose to this dreadful multitude. The Russians were already so well disciplined, that their rear guard sustained an action of three hours against the Turks, whom they repulsed, after having killed seven thousand of their men; but the want of provisions, or the superiority of the enemy, seemed to announce an irremediable disaster.

Campaign  
of Pruth.

Extreme  
danger of  
the Rus-  
sians.

Distracted with disquiet to such a degree as to occasion convulsions, the czar commanded that no person should enter his tent; but, happily, Catharine had courage to disobey these orders; she advised and persuaded him to negotiate with the grand vizir; collected whatever she could for the presents, which, according to the oriental custom, must be made before they enter upon business; chose the envoy, and made the necessary dispositions. While an answer was expected, the generals and ministers declared they were of opinion, that the army ought rather to fight their way through the enemy than surrender.

Catharine  
persuades  
the czar  
to nego-  
tiate.

Whether

Treaty of  
Falken  
with the  
grand vi-  
zir.

Whether it proceeded from a dislike to the war, or from weakness, or motives of prudence, (for the reproach of corruption sounds badly in the mouths of the Swedes) the vizir granted a peace, upon condition that the czar restored Azoph, demolished the port of Tangarok upon the sea of Azoph, with the fortresses which were built on that side, and did not disturb the king of Sweden, if he returned to his own dominions.

Proceed-  
ings of  
the king  
of Swe-  
den, who  
was en-  
raged.

Charles, enraged at this new treaty, went to find the grand vizir, whom he loaded with every reproach, and with his spur tore the robe of that minister: he intrigued more than ever by his agents at Constantinople, and, though the vizir was disgraced, drew upon himself an order to depart from Turkey; but he treated the order with contempt, and, in his little camp at Bender, ventured to sustain a siege against an army, in the year 1713; an attempt which might be taken for an adventure of don Quixote, if it were possible to call it in question.

He loses  
his pos-  
sessions in  
Germany.

The loss of his dominions in Germany was the consequence of his obstinacy. He sent orders constantly to Sweden to fight, but to give up nothing; and though his kingdom was drained both of men and money, they durst not disobey him; they sacrificed and suffered every thing, after the example of a hero, with whose unfortunate situation and patience they were not unacquainted. General Steenbock, who had vanquished the Danes after the defeat of Pultawa, gained another victory in Pomerania in 1712, laid Altena in ashes, but, however, was obliged, very soon after, to surrender himself with his small army prisoners. Without dwelling upon the details, we shall only observe, that, in 1713, Bremen, Verden, Stetten, and a part of Pomerania, were in the hands of the enemy, and the czar had taken possession of the coast of Finland. Stanislaus, desirous to renounce the crown of Poland, in order to facilitate a peace, went into Turkey, in hopes of prevailing with the obstinate Charles, and both were prisoners with the Turks. Sweden

Stanislaus  
in Turkey.



den could no longer resist : the czar, king Augustus, the king of Denmark, and the elector of Hanover, having entered into an alliance, wrested from her all the conquests formerly gained by Gustavus Adolphus.

If Peter the Great regretted Azoph, and the empire of the Black Sea, which he had lost to the Turks by the treaty of Falksen, he was made full amends by his success upon the Baltic, where it was of the greatest consequence to render himself respectable. He seized the isle of Aland, in the neighbourhood of Sweden, where he gained a battle by sea over the Swedes, and took their admiral, Renschild, prisoner. He next made himself master of Finland ; and, more than ever covered with glory, made a triumphal entry into Petersburg, amidst the monuments of his own labours. After the ceremony, he pronounced a discourse, of which M. de Voltaire gives the substance :

1714.  
Success of  
the czar  
on the  
Baltic.

“ Is there any of you, my brethren, who thought, twenty years ago, that we should have fought in the Baltic on board ships constructed by yourselves ; and that we should have acquired settlements in these countries, which we have conquered by our perseverance and courage ? . . . The ancient seat of the sciences has been placed in Greece ; they afterwards fixed in Italy, from whence they made their way into every country in Europe. It is now our turn, if you will second my views by adding application to obedience. Arts circulate in the world like the blood in the human body ; and perhaps they will fix their empire among us, *to return into Greece*, their ancient country. I dare hope, that by our labours and solid glory, we shall one day eclipse the most civilized nations.” This discourse is worthy of the creative genius who prepared so important a revolution. In saying, *to return into Greece*, did he imagine that the Russians would one day carry the arts and sciences thither ? However bold the prediction, can it be taxed with being absolutely chimerical ?

Discourse  
which he  
pronounced  
at Petersburg.

Order of  
saint Ca-  
tharine.

The order of St. Catharine was instituted by the czar, in honour of his spouse, whom he had solemnly acknowledged; a new proof of the gratitude with which he was penetrated by a sense of the importance of her services.

## CHAP. VI.

*Charles XII. returns into his own Dominions.—Intrigues of the Baron de Gortz.—Death of the King, and Revolution in the Government of Sweden.—Peace of the North.*

Return of  
the king  
of Sweden  
into his  
dominions

**I**N the battle of Bender, the Turks had spared Charles XII. whom they might have easily killed, and who killed a number of them with his own hand. He was kept prisoner at Demotica, near Adrianople. Having lost all hope of arming the Ottoman empire in his favour, he at last desired leave to depart. The new grand vizir (for there was no end to the revolutions of the seraglio) wanted that he should fix the day of his departure. Charles, whose conduct was always in extremes, sent a pompous embassy to take leave, though he could not find the means for this expense but by borrowing money upon the most humiliating conditions.

After having remained above five years in Turkey, he set out in the beginning of October 1714; dismissed his Turkish escort on the frontiers; and, parting from his own people, put on a disguise, in which, with two officers, he made almost the whole tour of Germany, going post either on horseback or in carts, and never stopping. He arrived, the second day of November, at Stralsund in Pomerania, a place of importance on the Baltic, of which the enemy wanted to get possession.

1715.  
He is be-  
sieged in  
Stralsund.

The Danes, Prussians and Saxons laid siege to it the next year, when, as usual, he performed prodigies of valour.

leur. The town was bombarded ; and a shell penetrated the roof of his house, and burst near the apartment where he was dictating a letter. The secretary having let fall his pen—*Go on*, said he coldly ; *what has the bomb to do with the letter which I am dictating ?* The enemy gave the assault at the horn work, where he repulsed them twice, fighting in the midst of his grenadiers ; but the work being at last carried, he was obliged to yield to the entreaties of his general officers ; and retire in a small bark, where two of the men were killed by a cannon shot from a Danish battery. Stralsund yielded next day, and Wismar was reduced soon after ; so that Charles lost every thing he had in Germany. His retreat.

He passed the winter in Carlescroon, without having any inclination to shew himself in his capital, after an absence of fifteen years. He ordered new preparations for continuing the war ; the young people were enrolled, and the state was completely ruined, by laying on every imaginable impost. New preparations for war. “ The people, oppressed with Exactions. “ such exactions,” says M. de Voltaire, “ would have “ revolted under any other king : but the most wretched peasant of Sweden knew, that his master lived a “ harder and more frugal life than himself ; and therefore all, without murmuring, submitted to those rigours which the king was the first to suffer.” How great then must have been their affection, if they had not reason to impute all their sufferings to him ! The kingdom was in danger, yet Charles attempted to take Norway from Denmark ; and having invaded that country with an army of twenty thousand men, without having provided for their subsistence, scarcity obliged him immediately to return.

In the mean time, the baron de Gortz, a native of Franconia, having become his prime minister, and governing that temper which had been hitherto untractable, contrived some intrigues, which threatened a great revolution. This minister, of a vast genius, active, artful, insinuating and audacious, capable of assuming all

Intrigues  
of the  
baron de  
Gortz.



Alberoni  
enters into  
his views.

kinds of forms, and employing every means, intended to conclude a peace and alliance with the czar, and then to destroy the other enemies of Sweden. He principally directed his views against George I. king of England, elector of Hanover, who had purchased Bremen and Verden, with their dependences, from the king of Denmark. He not only intended to deprive him of those provinces, but to set the pretender on the throne of England; and cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, of a character similar to that of Gortz, entered into his views. The czar, to whom all his conquests were to be abandoned, likewise joined in it; and, having relaxed the vigour of the war, made a journey into France.

1717.  
Two mi-  
nisters of  
Sweden  
arrested.

Count Gyllenburgh, the Swedish minister at the court of London, entered into a conspiracy in favour of the pretender, and Gortz was at the same time in Holland provided with full powers from his master; but their plot was discovered by intercepted letters. The two ministers were not only seized, but interrogated; and their confinement, which lasted six months, irritated the resentment of Charles. As soon as Gortz was set at liberty, he hastened to the czar, whose ambition he flattered with the hope of an establishment in Germany; by which, having become a member of the empire, he might one day aim at the imperial crown. Peter, at last, fixed upon the isle of Aland for holding a conference.

Copper  
money for  
silver.

Gortz  
detested in  
Sweden.

At his return into Sweden, the minister, in the pressing necessities of the state, then destitute of money, gave to copper coin the value of silver; so that a piece of copper of the value of a half penny, when stamped in the mint, became current for forty pence. This money, which he was obliged to increase beyond all bounds, because distrusts had prodigiously increased the price of every thing, was very soon universally decried, and excited the hatred of the public against him. The clergy, from whom he exacted a tax, loudly accused him of atheism, and every one either cursed or dreaded him.

Charles,

Charles, perhaps from obstinacy, only gave himself up the more to his counsels, leaving the cares of government in his hands, and trusting the negotiations with Russia entirely to his management.

These negotiations were drawing to a conclusion, when a fatal event broke all their measures. The king of Sweden had repassed into Norway, of which he was desirous to make a conquest, that he might humble Frederick IV. king of Denmark, who had enriched himself with his spoils. He laid siege to Fredericksbald in the month of December, setting at defiance the cold, which even his soldiers could scarcely endure; and was killed with a ball from a culverin at the age of thirty six.

His French historian says, with much reason, "He carried all the virtues of a hero to that excess which is as dangerous as the opposite vices. His steadiness, changing into obstinacy, was the cause of his misfortune in the Ukraine, and kept him five years in Turkey; his liberality, degenerating into profusion, ruined Sweden; his courage, carried to rashness, occasioned his death; his justice has sometimes been cruel; and, towards the close of his life, the supporting of his authority approached to tyranny. His great qualities, one of which might have immortalized another prince, were the ruin of his country. . . . Rigid to others, as well as to himself; not regarding the ease or the lives of his subjects, more than his own; an uncommon, rather than a great man; he was more an object for admiration, than to be imitated. His life ought to teach kings, how much a happy, pacific government is superiour to so great glory." Charles XII. according to the same author, deserved to be the chief officer under Peter the Great.

Sweden undoubtedly gained by the death of that hero, who had sacrificed her to his chimerical ideas of glory. She recovered her invaluable liberty, and established a new form of government, which she thought proper

1718.  
Death of  
Charles  
XII.

Judgment  
of M. de  
Voltaire  
on that  
hero.

The  
crown be-  
comes a-  
gain elec-  
tive.

proper to confirm without foreseeing the abuses. This important revolution deserves a particular attention. The king dying without children, and his two sisters having been married, the one to the duke of Holstein, whose dominions were in the possession of the king of Denmark; the other to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the crown became again elective, according to a law made in the year 1604, and renewed at several diets, which bears, *that the daughter of a king or a prince, who is looked upon as capable of succeeding to the crown, ought to be in celibacy, and not to marry without the consent and approbation of the states of the kingdom.* Here then was the time to provide for the public weal.

Arbitrary  
power a-  
bolished.

They were sensible of the miseries that had been produced by the excessive power given to Charles XI. especially under his son, who, however, was loved and respected by the nation as a great man; but they would not again expose themselves to the despotism of another prince. They said—"What would a vicious monarch have done if Charles XII. made us wretched?" His sister Ulrica Eleanora, the wife of the landgrave, having been raised to the throne by the diet in the beginning of the year 1719, yielded to the desire, or rather the will, of the Swedes. They thanked her for *the just and reasonable dislike she testified for arbitrary and absolute power*; they were determined to abolish that power, and they settled a plan of government.

Consent  
of the  
queen Ul-  
rica Elea-  
nora.

Form of  
the Swe-  
dish go-  
vernment.

The following was the form prescribed by the laws then made, or in part renewed, and to which the landgrave, become king (Frederick I.) by the recommendation of his wife, was obliged to submit. The legislative authority rests in the diet; the executive power is properly in the senate, composed of sixteen persons, where the king presides, and has only the casting vote in certain cases. It is the diet which names to vacancies in the senate, by presenting three subjects for the king to choose one. As to the principal employments, both civil and military, they were named by the senate from  
the

Senate.



the king's recommendation. The diet to be held every three years in the month of January. If they were not assembled at the usual time, every thing done in the interval to be null. They could not declare war without the king's consent. When assembled, it can neither conclude peace, truce, nor alliance, without his consent. All laws and ordinances to be published in the name of the king; but if he absents himself, or delays his signature too long, that of the senate may supply the want of his. On ascending the throne, he takes the oath before the diet; and is declared an enemy of the state, and deprived of the throne, in case he violate the *engagements* into which they make him enter. Beside the deputies of the clergy, the nobles, and the burgesses in the national assembly, the peasants likewise have theirs; the commons choose one of that order from every district, and the deputy must not have belonged to any other order. A Swedish peasant is truly a member of the state; he cannot be despised, and it would be dangerous to oppress him; he knows and enjoys his rights.

Signature for the king.

Oath and engagements.

Peasants.

Some remarkable laws have sprung from this constitution; they impress the minds of princes with those sentiments which are most necessary to be inculcated on them; they shew them that they are only men, *equally weak with the rest of the species*. They watch over their education, and render the effects durable. According to them, the princes *ought frequently to enter into the cottages of the peasants, that they may see the situation of the poor with their own eyes; their dress should be modest, and their table frugal, that they may set an example of economy to their subjects; which is very useful in a country that is poor, but free*. They condemn pomp and parade as an abuse, by means of which *the subjects contract a servile habit, and become accustomed to the yoke*. They positively proscribè luxury as a mortal poison in a state destitute of riches, where liberty is the foundation of the public happiness. In a word, they seem to have cured that warlike

Laws concerning the education of princes;

against pomp and parade;

and against luxury.

warlike people of the fatal passion for making conquests, but their intestine quarrels have injured this advantage,

Advantages of Sweden.

Sweden, with an hereditary king, seemed to have guarded against the disorders produced by the election of sovereigns, the scourges that accompany despotism, and the inconveniences which spring from a minority, or the incapacity and vices of a monarch. The equipoise of the different powers seemed to promise a most happy government; but that the effect might keep pace with appearances, it was necessary that the Swedes should be exempt from corruption; that private interest should not prevail over the public weal, nor the spirit of party stifle the voice of patriotism; that the senate, though so powerful, be sufficiently moderate not to abuse its authority; and that the royal prerogative, which is so limited, should have at least sufficient influence to restrain faction, and to form a centre of union between the different powers of the state. But is it possible to hope for so much virtue and prudence in our days?\*

When the new government was established, the system of the baron de Gortz fell in pieces; and that minister paid with his head for the bad counsels he had given

\* The revolution which lately happened in Sweden, which was effected by a young king, without any effusion of blood, and with the applause of all the different orders, plainly proves, that the people were dissatisfied with their government. The voice of the nation seems not only to have confirmed the censures of the sovereign, but the hopes which he has given of a happier fate. The following are the most memorable passages of his address to the states, the 21st August, 1772. — "It is in this manner that liberty, the most valuable right of the human race, has been changed into an aristocratical despotism, in the hand of a prevailing party, who were very soon overturned by their opponents; and they, in their turn, were subdued by a few individuals. They trembled at the approach of a diet. . . . My sole purpose is to re-establish true liberty; which is the only means, my dear subjects, to make you truly happy. . . . To attain so desirable an object, the kingdom must be governed by an invariable law, whose clear and precise letter leaves no room for false interpretations; which not only binds the king, but likewise the states; which can neither be abrogated nor changed, without the free consent both of the king and the states; which gives leave to a king, anxious for the good of his kingdom, to consult with the states, without their making it a reason for being alarmed or afraid; which, in a word, unites the king and the states in the same interest, the universal good of their country, &c."

given Charles XII. They were very sensible of the necessity of having a peace, and it was concluded by different treaties; first with the king of England, as elector of Hanover, to whom they ceded the dutchies of Bremen and Verden for a million of rix dollars; then with the king of Prussia, Frederick William, who restored Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, and kept Stettin and the islands of Usedom and Wollin; and lastly, the same year, 1720, with the king of Denmark, who kept that part of the dutchy of Sleswick which was conquered from the duke of Holstein, and gave up Wismar, upon condition that the fortifications should not be rebuilt.

The war with Russia was continued; and George I. sent an English squadron, as he had promised, to the assistance of Sweden; but this squadron did not act, or did nothing of consequence. The Russians, on the contrary, took some Swedish frigates, and in a descent burnt forty villages. A new negotiation was opened at Nystad in Finland, where the czar dictated the conditions of the peace, which was concluded in 1721, when he kept the provinces which he had conquered, viz. Livonia, Estonia, Ingria, Karelia, and a part of Finland. His subjects then decreed to him the title of *emperour*; a title which has been acknowledged by the powers of Europe, but was very unnecessary to his glory.

The czar imposes terms, & keeps his conquests.

His title of emperour.

## CHAP. VII.

*Death of Peter the Great.—His Establishments and Laws.  
—State of Russia to the Reign of Catharine II.*

**T**HAT conqueror and legislator, whose travels, enterprises, and success, surpass those of Charlemagne, put an end to his career by an expedition into Persia.

War of the czar with Persia.



Persia. The sopher Husein was attacked by rebels, who surprised the town of Shamachie, near the Caspian, where the Russians carried on a considerable trade. All the inhabitants were plundered and massacred; and Peter, not being able to procure satisfaction, carried the war into that country; not to aggrandize himself without deriving some real advantage, but to secure the empire of the Caspian, and to bring the commerce of Persia, and a part of India, into Russia. In 1722, he crossed mount Caucasus, took Darbent, and returned in triumph to Moscow. The following year the new sopher, on purpose to secure his protection against the usurper Mahmoud, the murderer of Husein, ceded to him three provinces, which formed a great part of the ancient kingdom of the Medes. These provinces have been abandoned since that time: an empire already too much extended, must certainly suffer by being more enlarged.

The means by which his son Alexis is made himself detested.

To complete Peter's happiness, an heir was wanting to whom he might leave the crown. Alexis Petrowitz, whom he had by his first wife, died in a most tragical manner in the year 1718. We shall in this place take notice of some particulars which attended the catastrophe of that unfortunate prince, whose trial made so much noise. His mother bred him up in a blind superstition, which made him detest the innovations of his father; and some priests, who were equally superstitious, abused his confidence, in order to keep up his prejudices; to which were added the grossest debaucheries. He very soon occasioned the death of his wife, the princess of Brunswick, sister in law of the emperor Charles VI. who died of vexation. In one word, he he seemed to be born to destroy all the great works of his father.

Reprimands and advice of his father.

The reprimands and threatenings of Peter were all to no purpose. In a letter to him he said—*Do not depend upon the title of being my only son; for if I do not spare my own life for the good of my country and the safety of my people,*

people, how can I spare you? I would rather transmit my dominions to a deserving stranger, than to a son who renders himself unworthy. In another letter he said—*Correct your faults, and render yourself worthy of the succession, or turn monk.* The son replied, that he would turn monk. The czar gave him six months to consider, and set out with an intention of visiting France, where he still hoped to procure instruction.

On his arrival at Copenhagen, he was informed, that his son saw none but malecontents; he therefore ordered him to come and join him. Alexis pretended to obey, but fled for shelter to the court of Vienna in 1717; however, threatening commands, accompanied with promises of pardon, determined him to return to Russia. He arrived at Moscow in 1718, when Peter, who had got thither before him, caused him to be arrested, and solemnly disinherited, when a child lately born of Catharine was declared his successor. Not satisfied with this act of severity, he insisted upon Alexis being juridically examined, and commanded him, upon pain of death, to conceal nothing. He was even interrogated upon his thoughts and secret wishes; his confessor, whom he charged with not having disapproved of his wishing the death of his father, was put to the torture. Such proceedings foreboded dreadful resolutions.

The last confession, which was signed by the young prince, bears, “that he was a bigot from his earliest years; that he had frequented the society of priests and monks, drank with them, and received from them such impressions, as made him detest his duty, and even the person of his father; that he wanted to succeed to the throne, *in any manner except that which he ought.*”

In the mean time eight bishops, and some others of the clergy, who were consulted on this business by the czar, declared, by a writing under their hands, “that the absolute power established in the empire of Russia, is not controlable by subjects, but the whole authority is in the sovereign.”

After

Flight of  
Alexis.

His trial  
in 1718.

His con-  
fession.

Decision  
on the  
absolute  
power of  
the czar.

Condem-  
nation of  
the young  
prince.

After all, a hundred and forty four judges, having likewise acknowledged that the decision of an affair of this nature depended solely upon the will of the sovereign, unanimously condemned the young prince to suffer death. An English writer says, that in the English parliament, out of a hundred and forty four judges, not one would have pronounced the least punishment in such a case. This must be, because liberty and despotism see with quite different eyes. According to M. de Voltaire, the czar might cause his son to be put to death for disobedience, without consulting any person ; and the czarowitz had offended the whole nation, by wanting to plunge them again into that state of darkness from whence they had been freed by his father. Does not that very trial prove that they were still in darkness ?

His vio-  
lent death.

Alexis, at reading his sentence, fell into convulsions, and died next day, after having begged pardon of the czar, who granted it by a public declaration. The injurious reports which were spread, especially against the czarina, on the subject of the death of Alexis, are refuted by the famous writer from whom we have taken the particulars of this history. Peter and Catharine, the next year, 1719, lost that child for whom the throne was destined.

The cza-  
rina in  
danger,  
from Pe-  
ter's pas-  
sionate  
temper.

It appears evident, that the czar intended that he should be succeeded by his wife, whom he caused to be crowned and consecrated in the year 1724 ; a ceremony unknown among the Russians, and calculated to make the same impression upon the minds of that people, as it had formerly done among us. Catharine, however, could not procure a pardon for one of her ladies of the wardrobe, her favourite, who had been convicted of having received presents, which was strictly prohibited to all persons in office. The czar, provoked by her entreaties, carried his passion so far, as to break a Venetian looking glass.—*You see, said he, that it needed but a stroke of my hand to reduce that glass to the dust from whence*

whence it was taken. Catharine pacified him by the mildness of her reply—*Well, then, you have broken that which was the greatest ornament of your palace; do you imagine it is the handsomer for what you have done?* But all the favour she could obtain for the lady was, that, instead of eleven, she should receive only five strokes of the knout. (The knout is a kind of scourging, atrociously cruel.)

The  
knout.

Peter died in 1724, at the age of fifty three, without having named an heir. The crown might have descended to his daughter, Anne Petrowna, who was married to the duke of Holstein whom he intended to restore, or to his grandson Peter, the son of the unfortunate Alexis, of whose death we have already given an account, and of his being previously disinherited. Prince Mentzikow, who was always a friend of the empress, prevented the opposite parties, by securing the treasures and the guards, and gaining some of the bishops. He speedily assembled the senators and general officers; and a prelate having declared, that, the evening before Catharine's coronation, the czar had signified his intention that she should succeed to the crown, she was that same day proclaimed, and proved the happiness of the empire.

Death of  
the czar.

He is suc-  
ceeded by  
Catharine

Let us return to the establishments made by Peter the Great, for our age furnishes few objects so worthy of a rational curiosity. It was in 1718, at his return from France, where he had acquired some new ideas, that he principally laboured to complete the reformation. A court of police, which was established at Petersburg, extended its cares over the provinces; the towns were cleared of those idle mendicants, who are a troublesome and pernicious nuisance, care was taken to provide for the education of youth and the support of orphans; whatever was necessary to preserve cleanliness, to maintain good order, and contribute to the public good, was collected in Petersburg and Moscow; trades and manufactures became flourishing; an uniformity of weights and

Establi-  
shments of  
Peter the  
Great.

Police,  
com-  
merce, &c.



and measures facilitated commerce; a canal of communication, between the Caspian Sea and the Baltic, by the river Wolga, was dug with equal skill and success. Some treaties of commerce were entered into, even with China. Two hundred foreign vessels were already reckoned to come yearly to trade at Petersburg, which, though an inaccessible morass in 1702, at present contains four hundred thousand inhabitants.

Laws;  
justice;  
the senate.

A prince so attentive to the true interests of government could not fail to employ his cares in legislation; and he published a code, taken, in part, from the laws of Sweden. He abolished a court of the boyards, which judged without appeal, though its members had not the knowledge necessary for such an office. He constituted a senate, and established regulations, that justice might be administered speedily, and at little expense. He forbid all the judges, under pain of death, to depart from the law, and substitute their own opinions in its stead. He commanded any boyard, declared ignominious by the judges, to lose his rank of nobility; and that every private soldier should acquire the rank of a gentleman, if made an officer. Undoubtedly his laws could not be perfect; but they ought to be regarded as the source of better, which will follow.

Ecclesiastical reformation.

In a savage country, filled with superstition, a reformation of the church was equally difficult and important. The prejudices of the clergy and monks, their cabals, their influence over the minds of the people, presented the greatest obstructions to the changes which the czar thought necessary. He had suppressed the patriarchal dignity, that he might deprive that body of a too powerful chief, who made themselves dangerous to the state, from the wrong notions entertained of religion. An archbishop of Novogorod, who had been improved by travelling, was very useful in seconding the designs of the czar. A perpetual synod, consisting of twelve members, nominated by the emperor, was instituted; a kind of tribunal, to which the jurisdiction

Perpetual  
synod.

of

of the patriarch was allotted. Peter frequently presided there, and always guided their decisions.

As the monastic life, in the Greek church, is a necessary step to the episcopate, the prohibition to become monk, before the age of fifty, was limited, and leave was given to enter the monastery at thirty; but soldiers, labourers, and all who were in the service of the public, were prohibited from embracing that state without express permission. Bodily labour was commanded to the monks; and they were likewise charged with the care of invalid soldiers, and the really poor, who were distributed in convents. The nuns were likewise commanded to employ themselves in useful works. Till the age of fifty, when they received the tonsure, they might, and were even exhorted to marry.

Regulations for monks & nuns.

The motives alledged by the czar, in his decree for the reformation of the monks, are remarkable. He goes back to the institution of their order, and takes notice of the abuses which had crept in, from the relaxation of discipline. "The monks (adds he) are become the scandal and contempt of other religions, and the disgrace of ours. They are even dangerous to the state, since the greatest part of them are useless idlers, drawn into the cloisters by their aversion from industry, and, as is but too well known, create superstitions, schisms, and even disturbances. . . . . While in their villages, they had the threefold duty, to contribute to the support of their family, to serve the state, and the Lord. They no sooner become monks, than they forget what it is to want; their provision is always ready, and if, by chance, they labour in the monastic state, it is only for themselves. But, say they, we pray. And does not all the world pray? Saint Basil has destroyed this weak pretence. What advantage, then, does society derive from monasteries? They cannot reply, but by an old proverb: *None, neither for God nor men, &c.*" (This piece may be seen at full length in the *Voyage de Siberie.*)

Motives for the monastic reformation.

How

The monks prohibited the use of pen, ink & paper.

How greatly must such sentiments displease vicious monks! Their libels against the czar had already determined him, in 1703, to prohibit them the use of pen, ink and paper. The archmandrite, or abbot, was responsible for those to whom he allowed the use of them. This regulation continued in force.

A sect in Russia persecuted.

Peter was far from dispelling the ignorance, and purifying the gross manners, of the Russian clergy; but he boasted of having forced them to live in peace and obedience, while Louis XIV. said he, allowed himself to be governed by the clergy of France. He stopped the persecution aimed against the sect of Razholniki; the only sect known in Russia, whose heresy consisted in saying *hallelujah* only twice, and making the sign of the cross only with three fingers. The sectaries lived peaceably among themselves, without having any commerce with the others; but, being persecuted, they carried their fanaticism to such a length, as to set fire to the house in which they were assembled; esteeming it their happiness to perish in the flames for the love of Jesus Christ. We are assured, that not one of these fanatics would change his opinion, and that an hundred thousand families fled for refuge among the Tartars, to escape the tyranny of their persecutors. The severities were renewed after the death of Peter.

Despotism contrary to the happiness of Russia.

The history of Russia, by M. de Voltaire, would make us conclude, at first sight, that this nation is infinitely more happy at present than it was before the reign of the czar; but does the fact correspond with these appearances? Petersburg and Moscow undoubtedly present a very extraordinary contrast with the ancient manners; there the fruits of commerce, arts and learning, may be seen; there the women, enjoying a greater share of consideration than is paid them in the rest of the empire, inspire the men with more gentle and refined manners, and give to society the charms of politeness. However, if we may depend upon the abbé Chappe, of the academy of sciences, author of the

*Voyage*

*Voyage de Siberie*, in 1761, every thing is crushed under the iron sceptre of despotism. In the hand of the czar, it was a necessary instrument for the execution of his designs; but it was likewise an invincible obstacle to the progress of the reformation, because slavery always degrades a people below the dignity of human nature.

On the one hand, the nobility crouch and groan under an oppressive yoke. They may be stript by the caprice of the sovereign, who can subject them to the most ignominious punishments, and the banishment to Siberia; a punishment so common among them, would be to us worse than death. From thence such a spirit of fear and distrust arises, that if you ask the Russians, says the abbé Chappe, any questions, even the most indifferent to government, they answer—*God and the empress know.* (Tom. i. 237.)

The nobility crouching slaves.

On the other hand, the people, who are slaves to the nobility, being as much their property as their cattle, and, in fact, treated like the vilest animals, languish in abject indolence and dreadful misery: almost without faith, and without manners, they drag the chains of superstition. Provided they respect the images, and rigorously observe Lent, they yield to every vice, without any sense of remorse. If they preserve their long beards and mantles, notwithstanding the commands of the despot, it is evident that, in other respects, they are not much changed.

The people slaves, and sunk to brutality.

The stifling baths, which they take twice a week to promote perspiration, followed by severe flagellations, after which they roll in the snow, are indispensable remedies for the humours occasioned by sedentary lives in smoaky cottages: but the venereal disease, for which they seek no cure, debaucheries of every kind, and particularly that of strong liquors, destroy those iron constitutions, and increase the depopulation of that vast empire.

Uncommon baths.

Causes of depopulation.

It is observed, in general, that the Russians give no proofs of genius; none of them have become famous in

Genius very limited in that empire.



science; they are only imitators in the arts; they owe almost every thing to foreigners. However, if the government gave free scope to men's minds; if knowledge did not expose to danger those people who were anxious to cultivate it; if education was better and more easily obtained; or if a sentiment of liberty excited a noble ambition; then, perhaps, some wonderful changes would be seen. The reigning empress (Catherine II.) labours to bring to perfection the work of Peter, which he had but roughly sketched in several essential points. That great man is not less entitled to glory, not only for having attempted what an inferior genius would have supposed impossible, but for having frequently succeeded, and paved the way for the success of other princes who may show themselves worthy of taking his place.

Forces of  
Russia.

Finances.

Fleet.

Russia has such weight at present in the affairs of Europe, and acts such a distinguished part, that it is of importance to have some idea of her strength and resources. According to the abbé Chappe, whose inquiries on that subject generally confirm the testimony of M. de Voltaire, the revenues of the state are thirteen millions four hundred thousand roubles (about 3,015,000l. English.) In 1756 the fleet was reduced to twenty two ships of the line, six frigates, and ninety nine galleys. The military establishment amounts to three hundred and thirty thousand men, and costs no more than about six millions four hundred thousand roubles in time of peace:\* the reason is, that the provinces to which they are sent furnish every necessary for their subsistence, and that the pay in money is very small. A great part of these troops, which are called the army of *the government*, being destined to guard the frontiers, the army of the country is only about sixty thousand effective men, who are perfectly disciplined: but the Russians have an excessive aversion from a military life. They are represented by the abbé Chappe

(can

\* A rouble is four shillings and sixpence English.

(can it be believed ?) as deficient in courage, and little to be dreaded, except when defending themselves where there is no opening for flight ; and then, it is said, they must be killed to gain the field of battle from them. The population, which M. de Voltaire estimates at twenty four millions, that traveller reduces to less than nineteen, and alledges, that, so far from increasing, it diminishes every day. Their commerce, by land, is of little importance, but by sea it is advantageous ; because their exports greatly exceed their imports. The Russians should carry it on themselves, and without restraint.

The Russians accused of cowardice.

Population.

Commerce.

The abbé Chappe concludes that the power of Russia should be calculated, not from the extent of its dominions, but in the inverse ratio of that same extent ; that she cannot send an army out of the empire, without even victories proving fatal to her ; she ought to transport the inhabitants of the north of Siberia into the deserts of the southern part ; from which, the sole inconvenience to be apprehended is, that the Tartars will learn the art of war from them. I own, that a part of these ideas appears to me quite discordant with the success of the war against the Turks. What efforts continually supported ! What victories ! What resources ! Let us not be too hasty in our judgment ; the consequences of a glorious war are sometimes deplorable.

Estimate of the power of Russia.

Revolutions of that court.

Peter II.  
Anne.

Iwan III.

It is something very extraordinary, that three women should have succeeded to the throne of Peter the Great ; and that it has acquired additional lustre, notwithstanding the revolutions in the palace. Catharine I. died in 1727. Peter II. the son of the unfortunate Alexis, reigned till 1730. Anne, dutchess dowager of Courland, daughter of the eldest brother of Peter I. succeeded to him by a court intrigue ; and her favourite Byron governed like a tyrant. After the death of Anne in 1740, Iwan (John III.) son of her niece the princess of Brunswick, was acknowledged : the mother of the young emperor seized the regency ; but Lestoc, a fo-

Elizabeth.

reign surgeon, formed a conspiracy in favour of Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, and succeeded. Iwan and the regent were imprisoned for life in 1741. It is well known that Elizabeth signalized her clemency, by promising that no capital punishment should be inflicted during her reign, and substituting public labours, which might usefully supply the place of that punishment, which has rarely been productive of good effects. Great licentiousness prevailed in the empire; but that reign has been signalized by conquests gained over the king of Prussia, during the war of 1756.

Peter III.

Elizabeth died in 1762; and young Peter, duke of Holstein, her nephew, who had been declared grand duke of Russia, quietly succeeded. Though he at first gained the hearts of the nobility, by an excellent ordinance which gave them their liberty, his conduct very soon rendered him contemptible and odious. The clergy, whose revenues he wanted to add to the crown, chiefly hated him as an enemy of the church; and a sudden revolution placed upon the throne his wife, the princess of Anhalt Zerbst, from whom he had been some time separated. This is Catharine II. whose knowledge and abilities carry the glory of Russia to the greatest height. If the code which she has announced is well executed, she may be classed with the first legislators.

Catharine II.

Idea of  
that court  
till the  
present  
reign.

Till the present time, the revolutions of that court have resembled those of the seraglio of Constantinople; and the reason is plain. The more the sovereign is despotic, the more must intrigue and violence prevail in the palace. Almost all those who have acted conspicuous parts in Russia, such as Mentzikow, Byron, Munich, Osterman, Lestoc, &c. have, in their turns, been precipitated from the summit of fortune into the greatest misery.

## FIFTEENTH EPOCH A.

## GENERAL AFFAIRS of EUROPE.

[From the Death of Louis XIV. to the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748.]

## CHAP. I.

*War of the Emperour with the Turks.—Enterprises of Cardinal Alberoni.—Regency of the Duke of Orleans.*

IF the Turks had been less discouraged by the late victories of the imperialists, or their politics been more clear sighted, they would have taken the opportunity offered by the war in the north, and likewise that of the south of Europe, which were kindled at the beginning of the century, to repair all their losses. They continued in peace, while the emperour Charles VI. exhausted his strength against France: they did not attack the Russians till after the defeat of Charles XII. at Pultawa, and made peace with the czar at the very instant when it seemed in their power to have crushed him. They waited the peace of Utrecht and of Rastadt before they took the Morea from the Venetians, to whom it had been guaranteed by the peace of Carlowitz.

The Turks did not profit by the wars with which Europe was distracted.

They take the Morea.

The emperour, either from being guarantee of the peace of Carlowitz, or because he was naturally the enemy of the Turks, then took up arms, and prevailed. Prince Eugene, having passed the Danube, defeated the grand vizir of Achmet III. at Peterwaradin in 1716, when the vizir died of his wounds. Temeswaer, the only place of Hungary in the possession of the Ottoman power, was taken; and prince Eugene,

Campaigns of prince Eugene against them.

the



Peace of  
Passarowitz.

the next year, after having been besieged in his camp, and escaping the most imminent danger, by gaining a second victory made himself master of Belgrade. In 1718 he concluded the peace of Passarowitz in person, by which the *bannat* of Temeswaer, Belgrade, and the kingdom of Servia, were added to the Austrian power; but the Morea was not restored to the Venetians.

Projects  
of Cardinal Alberoni.

Cardinal Alberoni, the prime minister of Spain, had already schemed his audacious enterprises; a man of sufficient abilities to restore order in the administration, the finances, the army, and in some degree to give new life to the state; but, instead of confining his application to things so truly useful, he wanted to overturn Europe, and ruined himself. To dethrone the king of England in favour of the pretender, son of James II. to wrest from the emperor what he had gained in Italy by the peace of Utrecht; to transfer to Philip V. the regency of France, which Philip duke of Orleans enjoyed without limitation, the parliament of Paris having annulled the will of Louis XIV. by which it was limited, were the designs of Alberoni; and, if they had succeeded, would have procured for him the reputation of a Ximenes or a Richelieu. We formerly mentioned his fruitless negotiation with the baron de Gortz, the king of Sweden's minister; and the discovery of his plot against George I. king of England, secured the possession of that crown. Let us take a cursory view of the other events.

His address in obtaining the cardinal's hat.

It will not be unnecessary to observe, how much the personal ambition of a minister influences the affairs of state. To procure the hat of cardinal, Alberoni carefully concealed his schemes upon Italy, and even sent fleets against the Turks, who had threatened it before the peace of Passarowitz; he restored to the pope's nuncio the papers of the nunciature, which were kept locked up. Clement XI. who became dupe to his artifices, had no sooner invested him with the purple, than

than the Spaniards made a conquest of Sardinia in 1717, and prepared to seize Sicily.

The interest of the duke of Orleans did not agree with the views of the Spanish minister; because the renunciation of Philip V. made him the presumptive heir of the young king, Louis XV. his pupil. He joined the king of England and Holland to maintain the peace of Utrecht, to which alliance the emperor very soon acceded: and the system of Alberoni was overturned by the quadruple alliance. Conspiracies were vainly attempted both in France and England. The Spanish ambassador, the dukes of Maine, the cardinal de Polignac, and several others, joined in forming a scheme for carrying off the regent; but the papers were artfully stolen from a young Spanish abbé, who was secretary to the embassy, by a courtesan, which was the means of the plot being discovered. The prince de Cellamare the ambassador, and his secretary, were seized. A declaration of war was the consequence of their intrigues; and France armed against the grandson of Louis XIV. whom she had established on the throne of Charles V. at the expense of her own ruin.

Happily the war was not of long continuance. Before it was declared, the Spaniards, already in possession of a great part of Sicily, had been defeated in a sea engagement, by the English admiral Byng, who in 1718 took from them twenty three ships. The year after they were defeated by the imperialists in that same island, and the fleet with which they proposed to invade England was dispersed by a storm; the English carried destruction into the port of Vigo; and the French, under the marshal de Berwick, whose son was in the service of Spain, took some towns, burnt some magazines, and sixteen ships of war which were newly constructed: upon which Philip V. who was naturally weak, sacrificed Alberoni, dismissed him, and only thought of extricating himself out of his difficulties.

1720.  
Peace be-  
tween  
France &  
Spain.

A negotiation for a peace was opened, and Philip acceded to the quadruple alliance. Sicily and Sardinia were evacuated, the duke of Savoy ceding the first to the emperor in exchange for the second; and thus a war, which had continued two years, was brought to an end.

Remarkable disputes in Sicily with the pope.

Could it be believed, that, since 1711, there had been dreadful disputes with the pope in Sicily, occasioned by some grey peas? These peas belonged to the bishop of Lipari, and were sold on his account; and the magistrates, not knowing that they belonged to the bishop, exacted some duty which was not paid by ecclesiastics. It was in vain that they afterwards attempted to excuse themselves, to restore the money, and beg pardon; but being excommunicated without mercy, they appealed to the tribunal of the *monarchy*, which, as we formerly observed, was established in the time of the Norman kings, and confirmed by a concordate between Pius V. and Philip II. where they were absolved provisionally, according to the ordinary procedure. The bishop of Lipari having carried the affair to Rome, Clement XI. declared that absolution null; though the judge was an ecclesiastic, exercising those powers in the name of the king, with which he was invested as legate. Two other bishops received and published the pope's decree. Philip V. who reigned at that time in Sicily, wanted to repel an attempt contrary to the rights of his crown; the bishops resisted, and he banished them as rebels.

Violent proceedings of Clement XI.

Upon this, Clement excommunicated the judge of the *monarchy*; and, notwithstanding the pacific proceedings of Philip, the quarrel increased. It was ordered by a bull, that all decrees issued by the Holy See should be executed without the permission of the monarch, (the *exequatur regium*) that is, against the laws of the kingdom. All the other privileges were abolished, and even the incontestible rights of civil society. To this was only opposed an appeal to the pope when better informed,

informed, and a prohibition to execute this bull and the other similar decrees. When the king of Sardinia took possession of Sicily, after the treaty of Utrecht, the disputes continued. How could the court of Rome flatter herself in our days, I do not say to enforce her ancient pretensions, but to wrest from crowned heads those very rights she had formerly acknowledged to belong to them? It was evidently necessary to abandon such an imprudent design; it was happy that it did no greater injury to the pontificate.

It must be owned, that both the people and govern- Auto da fé.  
ments were still, in many respects, involved in darkness favourable for such attempts. Two *auto da fes* at Madrid, where seventeen wretched victims of error were devoutly delivered up to the flames, are convincing proofs. The disturbances occasioned by the bull *unigenitus* afford equal matter of conviction.

The duke of Orleans gave himself very little trouble about theological matters, and considered only as a statesman what Louis XIV. saw with the eyes of his confessor; and at first observed a quite opposite conduct. Le Tellier, in return for his persecutions, was banished. The pious cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, who had formerly been the object of that Jesuit's hatred, was made president of a new council of conscience. The bull, which had been made a law of the kingdom, was suddenly exposed to the most violent attacks. A crowd of bishops, even of those who had received it, required the pope to give such an explanation himself as might dispel the general disquiet. Four prelates, and afterwards the cardinal de Noailles, the Sorbonne, the university, the parish priests of Paris, and numberless communities, appealed to a future council, which is probably at a great distance. France resounded with clamours, either for or against the bull of Clement XI. and the theologians, exhausting themselves in arguments and invectives, rendered the question still more obscure.

Ecclesiastical affairs in France.

Opposition to the bull unigenitus.

The



The pope added to the flame by condemning the refractory ; and the regent, though a man of abilities, did not know which party to espouse.

But the system of the finances, which I shall soon have occasion to mention, absorbed the attention of the public. The bull was neglected for the hopes of acquiring riches, when new interests determined the court to adopt new measures.

Intrigues  
of father  
d'Aubenton  
in  
Spain.

In the negotiations of peace with Spain, the duke of Orleans demanded that the prince of Asturias should be married to his daughter, and the infanta to the young king of France, Louis XV. To accomplish his purpose, he had occasion for father d'Aubenton, the confessor of Philip V. whose credit was the greater, as that monarch was a bigot. The Jesuit did not let slip this opportunity of serving his society and the pope : he persuaded his penitent whatever he pleased, and the regent obtained every thing he wanted, upon condition of the bull being accepted, and the Jesuits restored to favour ; two objects which could not be separated.

Accom-  
modation  
of the dis-  
pute con-  
cerning  
the bull.

In fact, an accommodation was drawn up, in which the doctrine was explained in such a manner as to reconcile the two parties as much as possible. It was signed by several bishops ; and an attempt was made to procure the registration of an edict, which commanded that the bull should be accepted, and appeals condemned. The parliament which had been banished to Pontoise, for the system of law, was inflexible in the present conjuncture, and an application was made to the great council, which shewed the same opposition. The regent went thither in person, followed by the princes, peers, marshals of France, &c. in 1720. He caused the law to be registered, and it was registered afterwards by the parliament with the usual modifications. This affair was principally conducted by the celebrated Dubois, archbishop of Cambray, though no man seemed less calculated for governing a single church. The Roman purple, with which he was invested, did not conceal

The regis-  
tration.

ceal the stains of his reputation : but he would have deserved greatly from his country, if he had succeeded so as to annihilate or extirpate the seeds of contention.

While two parties were tearing one another in pieces about some propositions of Quesnel, and the bull by which they were condemned, the bull, like the propositions, being taken by both in different senses, the whole kingdom was agitated by a more dangerous madness. John Law, a fugitive from Scotland, had conceived a scheme of paying the enormous debts of the nation in paper. The duke of Orleans, fond of novelties, and impatient to be free from these debts, adopted his plan; and a commercial company, by the profits which it was supposed it would make in America and elsewhere, was to repay the two thousand millions of debt which Louis XIV. left at his death. The success at first kept pace with Law's expectations. His company farmed the revenue in 1718, and had such credit that the price of the stocks increased prodigiously : fortunes were suddenly accumulated ; a blind insatiable avarice made people strip themselves of their money to purchase notes, which were multiplied to such a degree, as to amount to more than eighty times the current coin ; by which means they were very soon cried down, and the proprietors' fortunes ruined in an instant.

System of law.

Great success followed by greater misfortunes.

As soon as the people began to distrust the scheme, the royal bank having been exhausted by the sums which were drawn upon it, and no longer able to answer the demands of those who wanted to realize their notes, their whole credit vanished ; the money was immediately concealed, and the notes were no better than waste paper ; numberless families immediately sunk into indigence. An unjust law, by which the people were forbidden to keep above five hundred livres in specie in their houses, served only to provoke the nation still more. The author of all these mischiefs was become a minister of the revenues, and insulted the distressed of the public by his riches ; the parliament was banished

Ruin of the people's fortunes.

for

for opposing such pernicious measures; but that same year, 1720, Law was obliged to flee, scarcely carrying with him wherewithal to live, and leaving behind him a name to be for ever detested.

Liquida-  
tion of  
debts.

The annuitants had been reimbursed in notes, and the state was in no better situation. How could it make good its obligations to an infinite number of people, whom these royal notes gave a right to claim the property they had lost? Messieurs Paris, four diligent, zealous brothers, directed this prodigious work, which seemed almost impossible to be executed. Five hundred and eleven thousand creditors carried their notes to a tribunal, instituted to put an end to the confusion into which the fortunes of individuals were thrown. They liquidated the debts to the amount of more than sixteen hundred millions in money; by which means the state still had an enormous burden to bear, and individuals were but indifferently recompensed for their losses. The same scourge, originating from the same principle, proved at the same time equally ruinous to England and Holland.

Corrup-  
tions the  
effect of  
these  
schemes  
for raising  
money.

These fatal systems produced evils of worse consequence than the ruin of thousands of fortunes. Money became a divinity to which both duty and principles were sacrificed. Riches, suddenly accumulated while credit remained, introduced all the follies of luxury and all the excesses of depravity. Morals, and religion, by which they are in some degree supported, received deadly wounds, which time has not been able to heal. If the apologists of luxury prove that it is necessary in an opulent monarchy (some excellent laws undoubtedly would better prove the contrary) they ought at least to allow, that it is like a plague attached to certain climates. The sage in his asylum, the bosom of mediocrity, can scarcely preserve himself from the pestiferous breath of others.

They  
have been  
better ac-

According to M. de Voltaire, the Mississippi scheme gave men clearer notions on the theory of trade, in the same

same manner as the civil wars whetted their courage; and that is all the good which can be said of it. But, are the true principles of commerce to be found in that India company which appeared so flourishing after the scheme, and whose deceitful success and ignorant attempts have terminated in a fatal ruin?

The fortune of the cardinal Dubois, son of an apothecary of the Limousin, was as extraordinary, and more solid than that of Law. He became first minister to the regent, whose passions he flattered too much, and was by him turned into ridicule. After the death of Dubois, the duke of Orleans assumed the title of prime minister, because the king was then come of age. He died soon after, in the year 1723, and was succeeded in the ministry by the duke de Bourbon Condé, who was very soon supplanted by cardinal Fleury, an old man of seventy three, who had been introduced at court as preceptor to the king; amiable, gentle and pacific, fond of order and economy; in a word, such as a minister ought to be, when the nation was rather in want of relief than splendour.

Death of  
cardinal  
Dubois  
and the  
regent.

Cardinal  
Fleury.

## CHAP. II.

*Abdication of the two Kings, Philip V. and Victor Amadeus.—War of 1734 against the Emperour.—Treaty of Vienna.—England quarrels with Spain.*

THAT peace, so advantageous for the different nations, which Europe enjoyed from the treaty of Utrecht to the year 1734, which met with no interruption but from a short rupture between France and Spain, and one still shorter between Spain and England, affords very little matter for history. How happy should we be, if there were frequently such voids in our annals!

Long  
Peace.

Two



Abdica-  
tion of  
Philip V.

He re-  
sumes the  
crown.

Cortes.

The for-  
tune of  
Ripperda.

Treaty  
which he  
concluded  
at Vien-  
na.

His dis-  
grace.

Two kings who abdicated their crowns, presented a more interesting object than the triumphs of sanguinary ambition. Philip V. was determined to take that step, from his infirmities, from motives of devotion and melancholy. Little capable of governing, and always guided by others, he freed himself from a burden, by giving the sceptre into the hands of his eldest son, Louis, who was a very hopeful prince, but being seized with the small pox, died that same year (1724.) Philip was pressed to resume the crown, which he for some time declined, alledging that he had made a vow to persevere in his abdication. The theologians declared the vow null, but the king only yielded to the arguments of his confessor. He assembled the *Cortes* to make them acknowledge the infant Ferdinand prince of Asturias, that is, heir of the crown. In other respects the ancient power of these national assemblies was annihilated, and the monarch could do what he pleased, if a man of abilities.

An intriguing foreigner, the baron de Ripperda, a native of Holland, was next seen at the head of the Spanish government. He came into that country to establish and manage some manufactures; but while he was engaged in this trade, he conceived some very extensive projects, and undertook to terminate the disputes between the courts of Vienna and Madrid. Having received a commission for that purpose, he set out to negotiate secretly with prince Eugene; and in 1725 concluded a treaty, by which the emperor at last renounced Spain and the Indies, as Philip did the rest of the succession of Charles II. Ripperda, at his return, was created a duke and grandee of Spain, engrossed the whole favour, and exercised the greatest authority. The war department, the marine and finances, all passed through his hands; but his genius, which was unequal to the task of such an administration, immediately sunk under the weight: he was disgraced and imprisoned; but, having made his escape, fled to Morocco, where he died in misery and contempt.

The

The abdication of the duke of Savoy, king of Sardinia, was very different in its effects from that of Philip V. That famous Victor Amadeus, whose ambitious policy made him betray France and Spain to extend his dominions, in the year 1730 resigned the crown to his son, Charles Emanuel III. but the devotion which induced him to take that step, did not prevent him from repenting. The next year he wanted to resume the power, and would have changed the face of affairs. His mistress, whom he had married, undoubtedly whetted that desire for governing, which is so difficult to be extinguished when it has become necessary from habit. He formed cabals; and, disagreeable consequences being apprehended, the council thought it was best to fiddle them, by confining the old king. The prudence and virtue of Charles Emanuel, whose reign presents an excellent model of good government, makes the best apology for such a proceeding.

Victor Amadeus  
abdicates  
and re-  
pents.

During the general peace, different political interests agitated all the cabinets of Europe. Elizabeth Farnese, queen of Spain, who governed her husband, had nothing so much at heart as to procure an establishment for her son, don Carlos, in Italy. She wanted to secure to him the succession of Parma and Placentia, as well as Tuscany; states whose sovereigns were still living. The popes had for a long time looked upon the two first duchies as fiefs of the church, because they had been a long time in possession; but the emperours had always claimed the ancient rights of the empire; for it is not to be doubted that Parma and Placentia were formerly dependences of the crown of Lombardy. In 1722 Charles VI. gave an act of investiture for don Carlos, requiring that he should go to Vienna to take the oath of fidelity; but the court of Madrid would not accept it upon these conditions. In 1724, he granted it upon such terms as they pleased; and likewise for Tuscany; extending the investiture to all the children of the same marriage with Philip, and their heirs male. Though  
Tuscany

Investi-  
ture of  
Parma,  
Placentia,  
and Tus-  
cany, for  
don Car-  
los.

Tuscany did not acknowledge that it was a fief of the empire, these investitures might facilitate the acquisition. According to M. Deformeaux, pope Innocent XIII. made haste, in 1723, to give the investiture of Parma and Placentia, with a view of preserving his claims upon these dutchies. If it was received, (which I do not know) it shews that all parties were resolved to take the necessary precautions.

Quarrels  
between  
the courts  
of Vienna  
and Madrid.

The courts of Vienna and Madrid had too many subjects to contest, to suffer them long to continue in a good understanding. The last of them, having formed an alliance in 1729 with Portugal, France, England and Holland, treated the other with less delicacy. She obliged the emperor to dissolve a commercial company which he had attempted to establish at Ostend; and the allies having guaranteed the dominions to which she laid claim in Italy, she depended more upon the power of her arms, than upon the investitures. At the death of Antonio Farnese, the last duke of Parma, don Carlos made his appearance with an army which bore down all opposition, caused himself to be acknowledged heir of the grand duke at Florence, and fixed at Parma to wait for the other succession. Charles VI. gave up those pretensions which he could not maintain.

Don Carlos  
established  
in Italy.

The government  
of Spain  
acquires  
vigour.

By this means, notwithstanding the weak character of the king of Spain, Elizabeth Farnese gave life to the springs of government. The nation, languishing formerly under the dominion of the house of Austria, daily acquired greater vigour and activity, though still far distant from the point of which it was capable. They retook Oran, of which the Moors had got possession during the war of 1701. Their attempts to recover this important place and Ceuta, had only brought upon them new losses. From a quarter in which it was least expected, a flame was raised, which set all Europe in a blaze. Augustus II. king of Poland, who had been dethroned by Charles XII. and restored by Peter the Great, died in 1733, and his old competitor Stanislaus

Stanislaus  
a second  
time chosen  
king of Poland.

was

was solemnly rechosen. The emperor Charles VI. caused a second election to be made, in favour of the elector of Saxony, son of the deceased, who was married to one of his nièces; and Russia armed in favour of this prince. Ten thousand well disciplined Russians humbled the courage of the adherents of Stanislaus, that warlike, but undisciplined nobility, whom an excess of liberty had rendered the sport of fortune. Augustus III. triumphed like his father; and Stanislaus was besieged in Dantzick. By a stroke of fortune as extraordinary as his other adventures, he was become father in law of the king of France, and from that quarter naturally expected assistance; but cardinal Fleury sent only fifteen hundred men; so that Dantzick was obliged to submit. The king of Poland, disguised in the habit of a sailor, fled through a thousand dangers. The Russian general had set a price upon his head; a piece of barbarity which the czarina Anne amply repaired, by treating the prisoners with the most noble generosity.

The emperor and Russia cause Augustus III. to be named.

Siege of Dantzick.

However much the minister of Louis XV. might be a friend to peace, the honour of the king and kingdom, in the public opinion, compelled him to go to war; but, what is very uncommon, he knew how to render it useful. Not being in a situation to attack the Russians, he turned the forces of France against the emperor. A league with the kings of Spain and Sardinia gave a more certain prospect of success, as England and Holland remained neuter: So much had the moderation of the French minister dispelled former apprehensions inspired by Louis XIV! So much better is it to deserve confidence by creating respect, than by spreading terror!

France makes war upon the emperor.

By a war which continued two years, 1734 and 1735, the emperor was reduced to the greatest extremity. The campaigns in Italy were brilliant and decisive; and the marshal de Villars, at eighty two years of age, died in the bed of honour, after having taken Milan. The marshal de Coigni, who succeeded him, defeated the imperialists under the walls of Parma, where their general

Decisive campaigns in Italy.



ral the count de Merci was killed, and then gained a second battle at Guastalla. The count de Montemar, a native of Spain, who had gained the battle of Bitonto, conquered the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. He had the title of duke of Bitonto conferred upon him ; a valuable monument of his victory. The mareschal de Berwick was killed at the siege of Philippsburgh in Germany ; but, however, the place was taken.

Taking of  
Philipps-  
burgh.

1736.  
Treaty of  
Vienna.

Don Car-  
los king  
of the  
Two Sici-  
lies.

Tuscany  
disposed  
of before  
the death  
of the  
grand  
duke.

Stripped and pressed on all quarters, the emperor employed the mediation of the maritime powers ; but as the minister of France was sincerely desirous of a peace, it was concluded without a mediator. By the treaty, Spain gained for don Carlos the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, in exchange for the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany. The king of Sardinia had Tortona, Novara, and Lanzo ; and flattered himself with the hope of getting the whole of the Milanese, of which the court of Turin never lost sight. Stanislaus, preserving the title and prerogatives of a king, for the second time renounced Poland. Lorrain and the county of Bar were given to him ; to be united, after his death, to the kingdom of France. The duke of Lorrain was to have Tuscany in exchange ; and Louis XV. secured him a revenue of three millions five hundred thousand livres, till the death of the grand duke, John Gaston, the last prince of the family of Medicis. This was the second time of Tuscany being disposed of during the life of the sovereign ; a very extraordinary kind of politics, which the treaties for the partition of the Spanish succession had introduced. John Gaston humorously asked—*If they would not give him a third heir ; and what child France and the empire would beget for him ?* He died the following year.

Pragmatic  
sanction  
of  
Charles  
VI. guar-  
anteed by  
France.

At last France, by the treaty of Vienna, guaranteed the pragmatic sanction of Charles VI. with regard to the succession of the house of Austria ; a matter of such delicacy, that, though the preliminaries were executed in 1736, the treaty was not signed till 1738. This

pragmatic,

pragmatic, which was published a dozen years ago, was designed to prevent the partition of the Austrian dominions in case of the failure of heirs male, which very soon happened. Several princes had rights and pretensions, failing heirs male of Austria; and Charles VI. without either consulting or negotiating with them, wanted that a particular law should be binding upon them all, and oblige them to sacrifice their interests. This is another phenomenon of modern politics sufficiently remarkable. This great succession set all Europe in a flame.

In the mean time, a sea war broke out between England and Spain for a most trifling reason; which, better than any thing, serves to prove, that, even in the ages of philosophy, nations are little governed by the principles of natural right. We shall take notice of the origin of these quarrels, to which an unjustifiable commerce gave rise.

George I. died in the year 1727, not at all beloved by the English, because he encroached upon their liberties. Being master of the parliament, he raised the greatest supplies, which were employed for the interests of the electorate, and not of Great Britain. Towards the end of his reign, the disposal of the public money was left to him; and the commons gave up that privilege of inspecting the public accounts, which had formerly been thought so necessary, to limit the power of the crown. In a word, they experienced two very dangerous inconveniences, in a much greater degree than under king William; that of having a foreign sovereign, whose political interests might be very different from those of the nation; and of corruption, by which the court procured such influence in the transactions of parliament.

The passion for liberty, however, still fermented to such a degree, that the people exclaimed against an order to build lazarettos, and establish a quarantine to preserve the kingdom from the plague, which had then

overspread Provence. These were odious customs, said they, copied from the *arbitrary* government of France, and contrary to the liberties of England.

George II. To George I. succeeded his son, George II. whom he had kept at a distance from the affairs of government, but whom the nation thought more worthy of the throne. Sir Robert Walpole, an able and pacific minister, was of the same opinion with cardinal Fleury, that nothing was so much to be wished as peace, in the exhausted state in which the war of 1701 had thrown all the states of Europe. For this reason, England did not intermeddle in the dispute between France and the emperor; but that minister was at last drawn from his system by the ambitious genius of the nation.

Ambition of the English : Their quarrels with Spain. To secure the empire of the sea, to extend a commerce already immense, to ruin or weaken that of other maritime powers, is what the English seem to have had in view ever since they made a progress in America. The Spanish government, rousing from its lethargy, which had long continued, complained in vain of the contraband trade, which, in contempt of its rights, was carried on by the English; and, to put a stop to their courses, added to its number of guarda costas. They seized some vessels, and, perhaps, sometimes exceeded the bounds of moderation and justice: an inconvenience almost always inevitable in such circumstances. However it was, the disputes became more vehement; and the quarrel, which began about one ship, extended to other objects. The limits of Florida and Carolina afforded new matter for contest. The English loudly exclaimed, and began hostilities. The government was not able to resist the frenzy with which the people were transported. A treaty had been just concluded with Spain, by which Philip V. obliged himself to pay ninety five thousand pounds sterling to England, as a satisfaction for the losses she said she had sustained, and of which she complained sword in hand. In the mean time, the people exclaimed more loudly. Hostilities were

were not suspended ; and as they prevented Philip from paying the sum, that pretence was laid hold of for declaring war in 1739. Admiral Vernon took Porto Bello, and razed it to the ground ; but he failed in an attempt upon Carthagea.

The more we examine the nature of commerce, by which nations should be united, and which should only flourish under the shadow of peace, the less can we conceive the madness of wars occasioned by commercial disputes kindled by blind interest. What advantage can equal the expenses which they bring upon nations, and the losses which they occasion ? Must nations then become the victims of the avarice of merchants ? Must Europe be ruined and depopulated for some deserts in America, whose culture must be slow, and its produce so uncertain ? That there should be quarrels about trade, is nothing surprising ; but, instead of their being terminated amicably, that the different nations should make them a subject for going to war, is what we cannot reconcile with the principles of sound reason, humanity, or true policy.

The court of France endeavoured in vain to prevent this fatal rupture ; but she succeeded better in her mediation in favour of Charles VI. who was hard pressed by the Turks. Russia, as we formerly observed, had caused some troops to march into Poland, to establish Augustus III. upon that throne ; and the court of Constantinople, looking upon that proceeding as an infraction of treaties, permitted the Tartars to take up arms. An open war very soon began, in which the emperor became the ally of Russia ; and while the Russians were gaining advantages, Charles VI. was losing his conquests. Belgrade was besieged ; and being threatened with an invasion, he found himself incapable of repulsing the enemy, and therefore took advantage of the mediation offered by France. The peace was concluded, in the Turkish camp, in the year 1739, when Belgrade, Servia, and Austrian Wallachia, were ceded

Reflections upon commercial wars.

Charles VI. pressed by the Turks.

He cedes Belgrade, &c. to the Turks.

to



Azoph  
ceded to  
the Rus-  
sians.

to them. A month after, a treaty was concluded with Russia. She had taken possession of Azoph, which was left to her ; but upon condition of the fortifications being demolished, and without having the privilege of employing vessels upon the Black Sea. The sultan obliged himself to give to that power the title of emperor, to which the Turks attach a great superiority over that of king. The czarina Anne was still on the throne. Such is the extraordinary destiny of the Russians, that the glory of their empire, established by a great man, has rapidly increased under women.

### C H A P. III.

*Death of the Emperor Charles VI.—Claims to his Succession.—The King of Prussia gives the Signal for War.—France joins against the Queen of Hungary.*

1740.  
Death of  
Charles  
VI.

**C**HARLES VI. died in 1740, without issue male ; an event parallel to the death of Charles II. of Spain, which was likely to occasion dreadful consequences. Thus the house of Austria became extinct ; that family, whose grandeur may be traced back to Rodolphus of Hapsburgh, who was emperor in 1223 ; a family greatly aggrandized by marriages, particularly by that of Maximilian I. with the heiress of Burgundy, Philip with the heiress of Spain, and Ferdinand I. with the heiress of Hungary and Bohemia ; a family which had been established upon the imperial throne for more than three hundred years, sometimes oppressing Germany by attempts at despotic power, sometimes by political address ; a family whose power would probably have engrossed every other, or at least given law to all Europe, if cardinal Richelieu had not reigned in France under Louis XIII.

It may be looked upon as a kind of phenomenon, that, after the decline of its power, it could employ the forces of the empire for purposes unconnected with the interests of Germany, which was the effect of extraordinary prudence in governing opinions. We have already observed, and it ought to be repeated, the terror of the French name did more than the authority of the emperor. The court of Vienna always affected to be afraid of an ambitious, overgrown power, ready to crush the neighbouring nations. By spreading false alarms, she procured assistance; and by pointing out her own weakness, obtained forces. This was the consequence of the wars of Louis XIV.

The late emperours employed the forces of the empire for their private interests.

Besides, the Germans were always excessively jealous of the liberty of the states of the empire, confirmed by the peace of Westphalia. The capitulation of Charles VI. among other articles, bears—1. That he shall not attempt any thing against the three religions. 2. That he shall not cause his troops to march through the territories of any of the princes, without their consent. 3. That he shall preserve the jurisdiction of the imperial chamber, and not allow the ministers for the affairs of his own dominions to intermeddle in those of the Aulic council. 4. That he shall not arrogate to himself the succession of those whose property shall be confiscated by the ban. 5. That, without the consent of the states assembled in diet, he shall make no change in the laws; nor make war, peace, or alliance, for the empire; he shall not exact any contribution, nor make any regulation concerning commerce or money. 6. That he shall not put any state under the ban of the empire, without the consent of all the rest. 7. That he shall not restrain the states in their deliberations, nor prescribe the subjects to which they are to give the preference in their deliberations, &c. (*See Pffel.*) Such is still the public law of Germany, the only country in the world where order could be established in the feudal constitution.

Public rights of Germany under Charles VI.

To whom  
the succeſſion properly be-  
longed.

In virtue of the pragmatic ſanction of Charles VI. the whole inheritance of his family was ſettled on Maria Thereſa, his eldeſt daughter, wife of Francis de Lorraine, grand duke of Tufcany. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, Sileſia, Auſtrian Suabia, Upper and Lower Auſtria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the four foreſt towns,\* Burgaw, Briſgaw, the Low Countries, the dutchy of Friuli, the country of Tirol, the Milaneſe, the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, formed this immense ſucceſſion. Almoſt all the powers had guaranteed this pragmatic; but prince Eugene, who died in 1736, judiciously obſerved, that *an army of a hundred thouſand men would guarantee it better than a hundred thouſand treaties*. In fact, how could war be avoided, while the ambition of a number of princes had claims to ſupport?

Claims of  
a number  
of princes.

Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, laid claim to the ſucceſſion of Bohemia, in virtue of the will of Ferdinand I. Auguſtus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, claimed the whole in right of his wife, eldeſt daughter of the emperour Joſeph, who was the eldeſt brother of Charles VI. The king of Spain derived ſimilar pretenſions from the daughter of Maximilian II. wife of Philip II. from whom he was deſcended by the female line. The king of Sardinia likewiſe had his claims; and the king of France might have been a competitor, as heir in right of the wife of Louis XIII. and of Louis XIV. from the eldeſt branch of the houſe of Auſtria; but from motives of prudence, as well as moderation, he did not think of aggrandizing himſelf.

Rights of  
Europe  
too uncertain.

From the time that the feudal government ſpread darkneſs and uncertainty in the order of ſucceſſion to kingdoms, Europe has been inceſſantly expoſed to bloody revolutions. To whom ought a people to belong? It is too often a matter of diſpute, the moſt thorny of all, a conteſt begun with the pen, and which  
arms

\* The four foreſt towns are, Waldſhut, Lauffenburgh, Seckingen, and Rheinfeld.

arms alone can decide. Is it then impossible, in the ages of humanity and reason, for the sovereigns, in concert, to cut these evils to the root ?

All appeared quiet at first, and Maria Theresa, a virtuous, prudent, affable princess, in whom all those qualities were united which impress the mind with love and respect, took possession of the great inheritance left to her by her father, without meeting any obstruction. She took the ancient oath to the Hungarians, by which, in case their privileges are violated, it is lawful *for them to defend themselves without being treated as rebels*. This proceeding made her adored by a people whom her ancestors had always found rebellious, because they obliged them to defend their privileges.

Maria Theresa makes herself beloved by the Hungarians.

Frederick III. king of Prussia, a prince hitherto little known, at the age of twenty eight, was the first who took arms, and singly began a war which very soon set all Europe in a flame. His grandfather, who was decorated with the title of king by the emperor Leopold, only maintained the dignity by pompous dissipation. His father, who was a man of very different character, peopled Prussia by inducing foreigners to settle in the country, and by making agriculture flourish ; he disciplined a numerous army, amassed an immense treasure by economy ; and, in some degree, prepared materials for the greatness of his son, whom, however, he treated with severity. This son was bred up in adversity, an excellent school for sovereigns. To eminent talents, he added a taste for reading and reflection ; political, warlike, powerful, an enemy of luxury, having fourscore millions of livres in his treasury, and an army of more than a hundred thousand men ; of what was he not capable, if he indulged in the ambition of a hero, an ambition so difficult to suppress in such circumstances !

Frederick III. king of Prussia.

His power and abilities.

Frederick had but just ascended the throne, when old claims to some dutchies in Silesia afforded him a pretence for going to war. A month after the death of the emperor, he entered this rich province at the head

He arms suddenly, and chooses his time well.

of



of thirty thousand men, attacking the queen of Hungary, whom he at the same time offered to defend, upon condition of her surrendering Lower Silesia. On the one hand, Maria Theresa, by accepting such a proposal, would have shewn a weakness which could not fail to bring upon her new enemies; and on the other, the king of Prussia plainly foresaw that his bold proceeding must procure him allies, if his offers were rejected. His situation was the more advantageous, as the heiress of Charles VI. though possessed of vast territories, was destitute both of troops and money; but this courageous princess resolved to defend herself. At the battle of Molwitz, in 1741, the Prussians shewed how formidable they were by their discipline; for the cavalry being broken, the king's baggage plundered, and himself in danger of being made a prisoner, the intrepid steadiness and continual fire of the infantry recovered all; and in the end he gained the victory, a presage of greater success.

Notwithstanding the opposition of cardinal Fleury, France joins in the war.

The brothers Belleisle were the cause.

The king of Prussia was not mistaken in his conjectures; for other powers, invited by his success, took up arms against the queen of Hungary. Cardinal Fleury, who was averse from war, owing to the circumspection of old age, as well as the moderation of his temper, (he was then eighty five) wanted to end in peace his career, which had been always fortunate; and France having guaranteed the pragmatic of the emperor, this guarantee, though of little importance if it was unjust, confirmed him in his pacific system. But the count, since marechal and duke, de Belleisle, and his brother the chevalier de Belleisle, two men of a projecting turn, of active and enterprising genius, with great powers of persuasion, by their discourses and intrigues succeeded so far, as to inspire a resolution contrary to the views of the minister. They imagined, that to weaken the new house of Austrian Lorraine was to complete the great political plan of the celebrated Richelieu; and this was the foundation of their systems.

To

To accomplish this, a design was formed of procuring for the elector of Bavaria the imperial crown, and a part of the dominions of Charles VI. It was resolved to join with the kings of Prussia and Poland the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, who were interested in dismembering the succession. It was proposed to strip Maria Theresa of several branches of her inheritance guaranteed by treaties; and the count de Belleisle, who was charged with the negotiation, travelled over Germany and settled the whole project. Success seemed infallible, and the measures for the execution were arranged with prudence. But by what vicissitudes might they not be thwarted!

Projects & alliances against the queen of Hungary.

## C H A P. IV.

*The Elector of Bavaria Emperour, by the Name of Charles VII.—His Success and Reverse of Fortune.—Battle of Dettingen.—Don Philip and the Prince of Conti in Italy.*

THE elector of Bavaria, who by letters patent was appointed lieutenant general of Louis XV. immediately made himself master of Passaw, penetrated into Austria as far as Lintz, and Vienna was thought to be threatened with a siege, which it was not in a situation to sustain. To have got possession of the capital would have been a decisive blow; but instead of making the attempt, or pursuing the queen, who had fled for shelter to Hungary; instead of profiting by the essential moment, the elector, impatient to get himself crowned king of Bohemia, invaded that country, and took the great city of Prague by escalade. After the ceremony of the coronation, he went to receive the imperial

1747.  
Progress of the elector of Bavaria.

He caused himself to be crowned king of

Bohemia  
and empe-  
rour.

perial crown at Frankfort, and was raised to the head of the empire, by the name of Charles VII. The king of Prussia had, in the mean time, conquered Moravia; and a more deplorable situation than that of Maria Theresa can scarcely be imagined.

The senti-  
ments of  
the Hun-  
garians for  
their  
queen.

But even the danger procured her resources. The speech which she made in Latin to the Hungarians, when she threw herself upon their loyalty, made them melt into tears; and, drawing their sabres, they exclaimed—*Let us die for our KING MARIA THERESA*: they no longer thought of any thing but defending this princess, who truly deserved to be reckoned among the number of great kings. England and Holland, not yet daring to declare themselves, though they had guaranteed the pragmatic of Charles VI. sent her assistance in money.

The gene-  
rosity of  
the Eng-  
lish in her  
favour.

"The whole English nation were animated in her favour. They are a people who form an opinion for themselves, without waiting that of their sovereign."  
"..... The dutchess of Marlborough assembled the principal ladies of London, who engaged to raise for her a hundred thousand pounds sterling, and the dutchess deposited forty thousand; but the queen of Hungary had the greatness of soul to refuse this money, which they had the generosity to offer; she would accept of none but what she expected from the nation assembled in parliament." (*Voltaire.*)  
This is one of those instances on which England justly may pride herself.

Complicated  
faults of  
her ene-  
mies.

The enemies of the queen did her still better service by the faults they committed; they quarrelled, they complained of each other, which of course injured their cause. The mareschal de Belleisle, who had drawn France into this war, in which she was not at all interested, conducted her operations but badly. Mareschal Broglio was associated with him, but to no purpose, from the misunderstanding which prevailed between the two chiefs. They had too few cavalry; and prince

prince Charles, brother of the grand duke, harassed and galled their army with his pandours, talpaches, croats and hussars; a dreadful scourge for a scattered army easy to be surprised; and at last the French and Bavarian troops were reduced to almost nothing, without having come to any action of importance.

Disasters,  
without  
coming to  
any im-  
portant  
action.

A fault of the ministry completed their ruin. Cardinal Fleury, oppressed with old age, more affected by these misfortunes as he had always been successful, and the war was entered into against his inclinations, made an offer of peace; not with proper dignity and courage, but like a weak minister, who complained of the general that was employed as negotiator, and whose counsels prevailed over his particular sentiments. His letters were published; they served to inspire the friends of the queen of Hungary with greater confidence, and disgusted the allies of France; the burthen of the war fell upon that nation, as it did in the time of Louis XIV. and the Spanish succession.

Cardinal  
Fleury  
shews  
great  
weakness.

Prague was already evacuated; and the marshal de Belleisle had only the honour of saving about thirteen thousand men, the wreck of a great and victorious army, by making a difficult retreat. From the heart of Germany, where they had been victorious, they were obliged to fall back towards the Rhine, to act upon the defensive in that quarter; and the emperor Charles VII. could not even save Bavaria. He had been driven from thence oftener than once, was deprived of his dominions, reduced to the condition of a fugitive, and experienced almost the same fate with his father.

Losses of  
the empe-  
rour and  
France.

The death of cardinal Fleury in January, 1743, changed the measures of government. The king took the administration into his own hands, and prepared to command the army. His minister, however able in other respects, and attentive to the good of the nation, had totally neglected the marine; being of a pacific disposition, and an economist, he did not entertain sufficiently extensive views. How was it possible for him

Death of  
cardinal  
Fleury.

The ma-  
rine neg-  
lected.

not



not to see that the kingdom would one day be in want of ships, and the danger to which it was exposed from that want? How strange, that he did not think of profiting by the long peace, to secure such essential force to the kingdom, and to guard against the dangers of war! The English took advantage of that political error.

1743.  
Battle of  
Dettingen  
remarkable in  
some circumstances.

They supported the queen of Hungary in quality of auxiliaries, in the same manner as France did the emperor, and on both sides the auxiliaries became principals. They tried their strength at the battle of Dettingen, in the electorate of Mentz, where George II. with his second son, the duke of Cumberland, joined the army, which was commanded by the earl of Stair, a pupil of the famous Marlborough. The marechal de Noailles, at the head of the French army, had cut off the enemy's provisions, by which they were reduced to the necessity of making a dangerous march, where they might be overpowered. By the excellence of his dispositions, he had in a manner made himself sure of a complete victory; but his instructions were not obeyed, and all his measures were defeated by impetuosity; a fault which has often been fatal to France. A lieutenant general quitted an advantageous post, where he was commanded to wait, attacked the enemy before they fell into the snare, entangled himself in a defile, where his men fought with courage, but in disorder, when the household troops shewed prodigies of valour, and lost a number of heroes to no purpose. After a severe action, which lasted three hours, where the duke of Cumberland was wounded by the side of the king his father, the marechal de Noailles retreated, and this retreat was the sole proof of his having lost the battle.

Faults on  
both sides.

M. de Voltaire relates, that the English general said to him some weeks after—"The French committed "one great fault, and we two: yours was, that you "could not wait; and ours were, first, that we brought "ourselves into imminent danger of being destroyed, "and

"and afterwards, that we did not profit by the victory." (*Voltaire.*) How often has it been found, that French vivacity, little capable of *waiting*, rushes on to the precipice, if not restrained by strict discipline ! Nations are, like individuals, hurried on by their character, seldom restrained by experience ; and the same faults renew the same misfortunes.

Italy could not escape the conflagration of war. The king of Spain, having a title to the Milanese after the death of the emperor Charles VI. and a claim on the inheritance of the family of Farnese for his children of the second marriage, was resolved to form an establishment out of all these dominions for don Philip, brother of the king of Naples. The Milanese likewise presented an object for the pretensions of the king of Sardinia, who, without renouncing them, joined the queen of Hungary, because his interest made it necessary, reserving till a more convenient opportunity to take other measures. Political views determined him to enter into this alliance ; and he did what his father would not have done, he had the honesty to declare, that political views might again dissolve it.

Italy another theatre of war.

The king of Sardinia sides with the Austrians.

About the end of the year 1741, the duke de Montemar, the same who was victorious at Bitonto, entered Italy with some forces, but was not fortunate, owing to the superiour strength of the king of Sardinia, who had joined the Austrians. One thing very extraordinary is, the apparent neutrality of the other sovereigns of Italy, all of them declaring themselves neuter, through fear, though attached to some party ; except Benedict XIV. a prudent pontiff, who acted on the principle of common father.

Pretended neutralities.

As to the king of Naples, (don Carlos) he was determined by the English. One of their squadrons threatened to bombard his capital, if he did not promise to recal his troops from the Spanish army, and gave him only one hour to determine. Not being in a state of defence, don Carlos was obliged to put up with the insult,

The method taken by the English to determine the king of Naples.

sult, and therefore gave his promise. Such is the superiority conferred by the empire of the sea.

Sea fight  
off Tou-  
lon.

The English fleet being master of the Mediterranean, the infant don Philip could not land at Genoa; he therefore turned his arms against Savoy, of which he made himself master. A Spanish fleet was at Toulon, either with an intention of conveying him into Italy, or to supply him with provisions, and give him all possible assistance; but it was kept confined in the port by the English admiral, Matthews. After having for some time exercised their gunners, they ventured to engage a superiour force, when twelve Spanish and fourteen French ships fought against forty five English. They met in February 1744, but the victory was not decisive; yet even that was in some degree to have gained it, though it did not prevent Matthews from keeping the empire of the sea. To wrest it from the English would require a naval force of long standing, and capable of sustaining continued efforts.

1744.  
Don Phi-  
lip & the  
prince of  
Conti pass  
the Alps.

France, which had hitherto acted only as an auxiliary, at last declared war against king George and Maria Theresa, and attempted some considerable enterprises. Don Philip, from whom the king of Sardinia very soon retook Savoy, was supported by a French army, under the command of the prince of Conti. These two princes, having crossed the Var, reduced the county of Nice; and though some fortresses and formidable intrenchments in the Alps opposed their progress, every obstruction yielded to their valour. Conti forced the pass of Villa Franca, which was considered as one of the best defences of Piedmont, and across a thousand dangers advanced to Montealbano, where the French, in open day, scaled intrenchments situated upon a rock, and carried them, though the king, Charles Emanuel, was behind them, and his troops animated by his presence. He next carried Chateau Dauphin, and penetrated as far as Demont, in the valley of Sturc, making himself master of that fortress, equally formidable from its situa-  
tion

Villa  
Franca,  
Monteal-  
bano, &c.  
forced.

tion and the strength of the works. The plain of Piedmont was then open, and Coni besieged.

So many dangers surmounted, and so many instances of brilliant success, inspired a fallacious confidence, which was increased by a victory. The king of Sardinia attacked the besiegers in their lines; but, notwithstanding the excellence of his dispositions, he was defeated with the loss of about five thousand men. However, the conquerors raised the siege of Coni, being themselves defeated by the rigour of the season in the month of October, by the inundations and other difficulties, which render the war in Italy so dangerous, when the master of the Alps is to be opposed. It was therefore necessary to repass the mountains.

Battle and  
siege of  
Coni.

The count de Gages, surnamed Campo Santo, from the name of an indecisive action in which he had signalized himself, commanded the army, which in the beginning was under the duke de Montemar. In conjunction with the duke of Modena, and afterwards supported by the king of Naples, he recovered the superiority which he had formerly lost. Yet general Lobkowitz was very near making both the king of Naples and the duke of Modena prisoners in Veletri. This surprise in every thing resembled that of Cremona by prince Eugene; and the Austrians were repulsed. Thus there were always great hopes in Italy; but let us see what was passing in other quarters.

Other ex-  
peditions  
in Italy.



## CHAP. V.

*Campaigns of Louis XV.—Battle of Fontenoy, and Conquest of Flanders.—Don Philip in Possession of Milan, and several Provinces.*

The queen of Hungary triumphant in Germany.

WE left the queen of Hungary triumphant in Germany, after concluding a peace with the king of Prussia, who secured Silesia to himself by the treaty of Breslau. Freed from such a formidable enemy, she prosecuted her advantages with ardour. Charles VII. a fugitive in Frankfort, had only the empty title of emperor, which was disputed with him; as the queen, by a memorial, had declared his election null, because she wanted to place the imperial crown upon the head of her husband. The frontiers of France, upon the Rhine, were threatened; and even the provinces conquered by Louis XIV. were invited to return under the Austrian dominion.

1744.  
First campaign of Louis XV.

In the critical situation affairs then were, Louis XV. made his first campaign, and attacked the Low Countries. The count d'Argenson, who had the charge of the war department, was a man worthy of seconding the views of the monarch, and the preparations were so disposed as to promise success. Courtrai, Menin, Ipres, Furnes, and Fort Knock, were very soon taken; and marschal Saxe, natural brother of the king of Poland, whose attention extended to every thing, covered these sieges with a body of the army.

He goes to Metz to defend his provinces.

Having suddenly received news that prince Charles of Lorraine had crossed the Rhine, was got into Alsace, and making considerable progress; that parties of the enemy had penetrated into Lorraine, and that Stanislaus, king of Poland, being no longer in safety, had quitted Luneville; Louis abandoned the theatre of his conquests,

quests, and hastened to the protection of his provinces. Having arrived at Metz, he received the news of the king of Prussia being set out to seize Bohemia. Frederick prudently regulated his conduct by circumstances, and entered into a new alliance against the queen of Hungary, because he was afraid that, if she became too powerful, she would one day deprive him of the fruits of his conquests; and therefore poured into Bohemia, forced Prague after a siege of ten days, and made the garrison, of fifteen thousand men, prisoners of war. That hero seemed invincible.

The king  
of Prussia  
joined  
with  
France.

Prince Charles diligently repassed the Rhine without loss, like a great general who cannot be surprised; but however rapid his march, it was not so speedy as the conquest of the Prussians; and though he could not prevent them, he had the honour of repairing the misfortune. He obliged the enemy to evacuate Bohemia, crossed the Elbe before Frederick, and advanced into Silesia. Nothing was to be seen but revolutions.

Prince  
Charles  
makes the  
Prussians  
evacuate  
Bohemia.

After a dangerous disorder, which filled all France with sorrow and apprehension, Louis XV. took Fri-  
burgh; though the governour did not capitulate till two months after the trenches were opened. The emperor Charles VII. recovered Bavaria, but was still afraid of being driven from Munich, as the king of Prussia had been from Prague; when he sunk under disease and the vexation by which he was consumed. He died in January, 1745, at the age of forty seven, the most unfortunate of men, solely from his ambition and desire of power, though in the early part of his life deservedly happy. His son Maximilian Joseph, at the age of seventeen, was soon obliged to detach himself from France.

1745.  
Siege of  
Friburgh.

Death of  
the em-  
perour  
Charles  
VII.

It might have naturally been expected, that the death of the Bavarian emperor would have put an end to the war; but it was kept up by private resentment. The English, finding themselves threatened with an invasion, in favour of Charles Edward, son of the pretender, gave

Animosi-  
ty  
of the  
English.

Their ex-  
penses for  
this war.

vent to their hatred of the French name, as in the time of Louis XIV. their money flowed in all quarters with profusion, and all the allies seemed to be engaged in their pay. They furnished five hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary, and two hundred thousand to the king of Sardinia; they paid a great sum to the king of Poland, whom they had drawn into the confederacy; and gave subsidies to the elector of Mentz, and even of Cologne, the brother of Charles VII. for liberty to raise men in his dominions. After long hesitation, Holland espoused the same quarrel. The heiress of the House of Austria, far from yielding, already thought herself entitled to a recompense; and France, always desirous of peace, at last took an improper method to obtain it. She wanted Spain to gain over the king of Sardinia, as she attempted to gain the Dutch; but her moderation only served to cherish the confidence of her enemies, and strengthen their pretensions. The only proper step to be taken, was to push the war with vigour, that the enemy might be made desirous of that peace of which they felt the necessity; and therefore more effectual measures were taken.

Excessive  
moderation  
of  
France.

Siege of  
Tournai.

Siege was laid to Tournai, the principal town of the Dutch barrier; upon which the enemy were determined to come to an engagement; and their army, consisting of at least fifty five thousand men, composed of English, Hanoverians and Dutch, with scarcely any Austrians, advanced to that neighbourhood. Marechal Saxe, whose last campaign had been a masterpiece of military skill, exhausted by a lingering disorder, quitted Paris, saying—*The business is not living, but marching.* The king joined the army, with the dauphin, and observed, the evening before the action, that since the battle of Poitiers, no king of France had gained a signal victory against the English, adding, that he hoped to be the first; and his expectation was not disappointed.

Marechal  
Saxe.

Battle of  
Fontenoy.

The famous battle of Fontenoy was fought the 11th of May, 1745. The author of the Age of Louis XIV.

has

has written a detail of this action, so deserving of his pen, and so interesting to the nation. I shall only take notice of what is most essential. The Dutch, after having twice attacked the post of Antoin, no longer continued to act; but the intrepidity of the English and Hanoverians brought France into the greatest danger. The duke of Cumberland, son of George II. by whom they were commanded, advanced into a narrow ground, with his troops formed in a close, impenetrable column, exposed to a most dreadful fire. This column penetrated gradually across innumerable obstacles, and by its weight bore down every opposition. The French, not acting in concert, were repulsed in every quarter; and it was believed the battle was lost: the general several times sent to entreat the king to retire, but Louis would not quit his post. At last an expedient was hit upon; which was, to level four pieces of cannon against the English column, and when the cannon had made some impression, to cause the household troops, and some others, to join in the charge; by which means the victory was decided. The enemy retreated in good order, with the loss of nine thousand men. *You see upon what the success of battles depends*, said mareschal Saxe to the king; and thousands of examples serve to shew that they are decided by accidents or critical moments.

English  
column.

What de-  
cided the  
victory.

The king of Prussia gained one a few days after in Silesia, and wrote to Louis XV.—*I have discharged the bill at Friedberg, which you drew upon me at Fontenoy.* Amidst the hurry of war, Frederick still cultivated that lively wit which he had acquired from his having a taste for French literature.

Battle of  
Friedberg.

Such was the moderation of Louis, that the very day of the victory he caused a letter to be written to his minister in Holland, declaring his readiness to sacrifice his conquests to the peace of Europe; but neither the courts of England nor of Vienna had the same pacific disposition. All the fruits of the victory were rapidly gathered. Tournai yielded, as did Ghent, where the

Peace of-  
fered in  
vain by  
Louis.

Conquest  
of Flan-  
ders.

enemy



enemy had their magazines, after the battle of Mefle, famous for the surprising actions of some officers. Oudenarde, Bruges, and Dendermonde, made but little resistance; and Ostend, which had held out more than a three years siege against Spinola, was obliged to surrender in fifteen days. Nieuport and Aeth yielded after Louis quitted the army; and the whole country of Flanders was reduced.

Don Philip master in Italy.

The success of the campaign was not less rapid in Italy. Genoa having made a treaty with Spain, the troops had a free passage. The Spanish army, with that of France under the command of the mareschal de Maillebois, and the troops of Genoa, amounted to about eighty thousand men. The count de Gages, after having pursued the Austrians from the ecclesiastical state as far as Modena, came to join the grand army. They attacked the king of Sardinia, who was intrenched between Valencia and Alexandria, compelled him to fall back towards Casal; and Don Philip very soon became master of Milan, Parma, Placentia, Montserrat, Tortonois, &c. In the mean time, Charles Edward, who had disembarked with several officers in Scotland, caused himself to be proclaimed regent at Edinburgh. (I shall mention this expedition in another place.) They triumphed, but they were very soon struck with dismay.

## C H A P. VI.

*Second Peace of the King of Prussia with the Queen of Hungary.—Francis I. elected Emperour.—The French and Spaniards driven out of Italy in 1746.*

**T**HOUGH the king of Prussia was then victorious, and the prince of Conti commanded a French army in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, the queen of Hungary gained the point at which she always aimed, by getting her husband, Francis of Lorraine, chosen emperour, in September, 1745. The Austrian troops, that were employed to cover Frankfort, facilitated the election; but the ambassadours of the king of Prussia and the elector Palatine, withdrawing from the electoral diet, protested against its validity; which, however, being conformable to the laws of the empire, was not the less effectual.

The king of Prussia, a prince of the greatest abilities, had already seized the moment which was favourable for the interest of his crown, and wanted to procure an advantageous peace. He applied for the mediation of Russia; but he knew a shorter method to accomplish his purpose, which was to take possession of Saxony; and accordingly, after having gained a battle over the Austrians and Saxons at the gates of Dresden, he entered that city the 18th of December, and on the 25th signed a treaty with the empress queen and the elector of Saxony, king of Poland, by which Silesia was again ceded to him; and all that he granted was to acknowledge Francis I. emperour. With the abilities of a general, minister, and negotiator, commanding his own armies, managing his finances, concluding his treaties in person, capable of foreseeing the future, and profiting by the present, able either to slacken or advance his

Francis of  
Lorraine  
emperour.

The king  
of Prussia  
seizes Sax-  
ony, and  
makes a  
second  
peace.

What in-  
fluence he  
necessari-  
ly had.

pace,

pace, according to the present exigency, always proportioning his attempts to his powers, adding the greatest courage to the most profound policy, Frederick III. had such influence in the affairs of Europe, that the loss of an ally like him must necessarily be attended with the most unhappy consequences. While he dedicated his time to the cares and studies of peace at Berlin, as relaxations from the fatigues of war, every thing put on a new appearance in Italy.

1746.  
Disasters  
in Italy.

Battle of  
Placentia.

Retreat &  
battle.

Genoa  
submits  
to the Au-  
strians.

Maria Theresa, having no longer any thing to dread from the king of Prussia, sent new troops into that country. By the commands of Elizabeth Farnese, queen of Spain, the army imprudently remained in the Milanese, to take the castle of Milan. The marechal de Maillebois foretold that this resolution would prove fatal; and his prediction was but too fully verified. On the one hand, the king of Sardinia surprised Asti, and took seven thousand French prisoners; on the other, count Brown, the Austrian general, took Guastalla and Parma; and these misfortunes were completed by the battle of Placentia, gained by the prince de Lichtenstein, in which the French and Spaniards lost more than eight thousand men killed and wounded, and four thousand prisoners. There was no other resource left but in a speedy retreat; and such was the disposition, that it was like a second battle. The king of Sardinia and the Austrians warmly attacked the army of the three crowns (for at that time there were some Neapolitan troops) near Tidon, without being able to break them; this was at least to retreat with honour; but Placentia opened her gates the next day.

Of one of the greatest armies Italy had ever seen, there remained only about sixteen thousand men, who arrived at Genoa; but were obliged to abandon it, that they might hasten to the defence of Provence and Savoy. Genoa, in consternation at the approach of the Austrian army, sent four senators to receive their orders, and submitted upon the hardest conditions.

The

The enemy very soon marched into Provence, and crossed the Var; the mareschal de Maillebois being the less able to stop their progress, as the Spaniards had separated from him that they might guard Savoy, of which they still kept possession. One part of Provence became a prey to the enemy; but the mareschal de Belleisle found means to stop their progress till he assembled a considerable army in the beginning of the year 1747, when he obliged them to retire. The want of provisions, occasioned by the recent revolution of Genoa, necessarily caused their enterprize to prove abortive.

Invasion  
of Pro-  
vence.

The Austrians had taxed Genoa to the amount of twenty four millions, and had already received sixteen. The bank being exhausted, they begged for indulgence; but the Austrians, so far from being softened, likewise insisted upon the inhabitants furnishing provisions for the support of nine regiments, which were quartered in the suburbs and villages. To such harsh commands they added the most cruel oppressions, and treated the people like slaves, which inspired them with the courage dictated by despair. While the inhabitants were compelled to drag cannon from the arsenal, an Austrian officer having rudely struck one of the Genoese, the people, in a fury, instantly assembled, flew to arms, and in a few days became formidable to the oppressors by whom they were despised. The marquis de Botta, a Milanese, the Austrian general, instead of suppressing the revolt by force of arms, negotiated with the senate, who pretended to disapprove of what the people had done, but would not arm the troops against them, as was required. At last, on the 9th of December, 1746, a prince of the family of Doria having put himself at the head of this multitude, whose hopes had been secretly encouraged, they rushed upon the Austrians, and compelled them to fly.

The Ge-  
noese, be-  
ing op-  
pressed,  
drive out  
the enemy

It is not surprising that the minister of the republic, at the court of Vienna, should disavow this enterprize in

Surprising  
conduct of  
the court  
the of Vienna.



the name of the senate ; but it is astonishing that the court of Vienna should, in such circumstances, demand that, beside the eight millions which were still owing, thirty millions should immediately be paid for the injury. She thought herself certain of vengeance ; but despair had revived the hopes of the Genoese, to whom both France and Spain sent succours. The duke de Boufflers, and after him the mareschal de Richelieu, saved this republic, when exposed to be totally destroyed.

Consequences of the death of Philip V.

Philip V. a prince who, by his beneficent virtues, deserved the love of his subjects, died at the age of sixty three. Under him Spain began to recover ; she has continued to acquire strength, and to improve under his children ; but the inveterate evils of a state are only to be cured by slow degrees. Ferdinand VI. who was a child of the first marriage, ascended the throne ; and this news was received by the army in Italy, after the unfortunate battle of Placentia. This was one of the chief reasons which determined the army to retreat, as the danger was pressing, and don Philip did not know what assistance he might hope for from the new king his brother.

The misfortunes proceeded from the king of Prussia.

To examine these misfortunes to their first source, we must look back to the unexpected treaty concluded between the king of Prussia and Maria Theresa. Those efforts, which the imperialists would have been obliged to exert against him, they employed in Italy. Interest, in general, is the motive for forming alliances ; and it is by interest they are dissolved. The prudent politician will calculate to what degree advantages are to be expected from them, and how far they are to be depended upon,

## C H A P. VII.

*Campaigns of Louis XV. in 1746 and 1747.—The hereditary Stadtholdership restored in Holland.—Battle of Assiuto.—Expedition of Charles Edward.*

WHILE France was suffering irreparable misfortunes in Italy, she gained the most honourable victories in the Low Countries. Brussels was taken in the middle of winter by mareschal Saxe ; and Antwerp afterwards by the king in person ; Mons, by the prince of Conti ; Namur, by the prince de Clermont, &c. Other places were rapidly carried, and the battle of Rocou, which was gained over the enemy near Liege, signalized the campaign of 1746. The Austrians were successful in other countries ; but the English and Dutch, who had the care of these provinces, could not stop the torrent ; they had not now a Marlborough to contend against one of the best generals that ever commanded the armies of France. The garrisons were made prisoners of war.

Splendid  
success of  
France in  
the Low  
Countries

Louis XV. though victorious, continued to offer peace, and to spare Holland, in hopes of bringing her to his views of pacification ; but the only means to determine the Dutch, was to make them tremble for their own country. The conferences which were held at Breda produced no effect. England and Austria, either from ambition or animosity, wanted to prolong the war. Though Holland had greatly decayed, ever since other nations carried on their own commerce, she obstinately persisted in the prejudices against France, which had been occasioned by Louis XIV. However, the country was at last invaded in 1747. She kept up an apparent neutrality, notwithstanding she furnished the enemy with every kind of succour ; and the king declared, that

Louis XV.  
at last  
attacks  
Holland.

that his design was not to break with her; that he would only keep her towns as a deposit, and restore them as soon as the United Provinces no longer obstructed the peace by the partiality of their conduct.

1747.  
The stadtholder-ship restored,

and made hereditary even to the females.

The pursuit of an injudicious system, which became favourable to the pacific intentions of the king, cost them a part of their liberties. The people and the cities, when they saw the danger to which they were exposed, demanded a stadtholder; and the states were obliged to restore that dignity, which had been abolished ever since the death of William III. Henry Friso, prince of Orange, of the branch of Nassau Dietz, was not only created stadtholder, but that office was rendered hereditary even in favour of the princesses, failing the males of the family. It was fixed, that, with the consent of the states, the princesses should marry princes of the Protestant religion, being neither kings nor electors; the heiress to have the title of governess; and, in case of a war, to propose a general agreeable to the republic. During a minority, the princess's mother to exercise the same power, by the same title, upon condition of not marrying again. By this law, Holland is become a kind of monarchy; where the prince, in some respects, enjoys a greater authority than the king of England.

Investive of a Dutchman against Louis.

If passion and prejudice had not had such influence, one of the deputies of the states would not have ventured to say, on the day the stadtholder was installed, that *the republic wanted a chief, against an ambitious, treacherous neighbour, who sported with the faith of treaties.* To speak in this manner of Louis XV. was to add injustice to insult, and to provoke an eminent revenge, which happily his heart disdained.

England takes a Russian army into her pay.

England, more exasperated than Holland, and chiefly irritated by the invasion of prince Charles Edward, entered into a treaty with the czarina Elizabeth, which was concluded in the month of June. For a subsidy of only one hundred thousand pounds sterling, which

was

was much less than the sum paid annually for the Hanoverian troops, Russia engaged to send an army as far as the Low Countries. How amazing the efforts, of which this empire was capable in a short time! But to see Russian fleets at present victorious in the Mediterranean, seems to efface all other wonders.

Before these new enemies could arrive from such a distance, marechal Saxe had it in his power to execute some very important projects. He proposed to take Maestricht, that he might open the way to Nimeguen; but this enterprize required a battle, and he attacked the allies at Lawfeldt. The king commanded his army in person, and the duke of Cumberland that of the enemy, who were defeated, and retired under the walls of Maestricht: however, the loss was nearly equal, being about five thousand men on each side. General Ligonier, a native of France, in the service of England, being carried prisoner to Louis XV.—*Would it not be better*, said the king to him, *to think seriously of a peace, than to occasion the deaths of so many brave men?* In fact, if human blood was to be esteemed of any value in the contests between sovereigns and nations, who would not shudder at the thoughts of a war prolonged from idle motives? Here, however, humanity was to be found in the bosom of a victorious king.

Battle of  
Lawfeldt.

Expression  
worthy of  
a king.

As the victory was not so complete as was necessary, to carry into execution the projected enterprize, another, of the greatest consequence, was formed, and siege was laid to Bergen op Zoom. This place, which was exceeding strong, being surrounded by a morass, and having a communication, by a canal, with the Scheldt, near its mouth, was reckoned impregnable; however, it was taken by count Lowendahl, a native of Denmark, in three weeks after the trenches were opened. French valour seemed in a manner to have performed impossibilities. Seventeen large barks, loaded with ammunition and refreshments, were found in the port. The Dutch had written in large characters upon the bales—

Siege of  
Bergen  
op Zoom.

To



*To the invincible garrison of Bergen op Zoom.* Holland then began to tremble; but another campaign was necessary, to bring the evils of a war to a conclusion.

Battle of  
Assiitto.

Two months before the taking of this place, the bloody battle of Assiitto completed the disasters which happened in Italy. It was proposed to return by Exilles, for the preservation of Genoa; and the count de Belleisle, brother of the marechal, undertook this dangerous expedition. The troops of the king of Sardinia were intrenched in the pass of Assiitto; and, though their breastworks were eighteen feet high, defended with palisades and cannon, they were attacked by the French, whom the Piedmontese had nothing to do but to kill for two hours together; and there fell about four thousand men, among whom were a great number of officers, whose bravery could not be too much regretted.

Instances  
of cou-  
rage.

The death of the marquis de Brienne, who was a colonel, is remarkable. Having lost one arm—*I have another left*, said he, *for the king's service*, and rushed upon his death. Belleisle, who was wounded in both hands, attempting to tear up the palisades, was killed, as he indeed wished; for it was a maxim with him, that no general should survive a defeat. He was accused by the nation of having the rashness of a private soldier, instead of the prudence of a general. We may judge of the attempt from the loss of the enemy, which, notwithstanding the valour of the assailants, did not exceed a hundred men.

Expedi-  
tion of  
Charles  
Edward  
into Scot-  
land.

It is now time to give an account of the expedition of Charles Edward, which was, in one sense, more daring, but whose first successes were as surprising as the catastrophe was fatal. That grandson of James II. having formed the design of dethroning king George, embarked, in 1745, on board a privateer, with seven officers, twelve hundred stand of arms, and a small sum of money. Some of the heads of *clans* among the Scotch Highlanders received him, and declared in his favour; and

and he very soon had fifteen hundred men under his command, to whom he distributed arms. His courage, his example, the fatigues which he underwent at their head, and the life which he led, equally hard with that of his followers, inspired them with a kind of enthusiasm. The king of England was absent from the kingdom, and almost the whole troops of the nation were serving abroad. Charles Edward, having made himself master of Perth, marched quickly to Edinburgh, where he caused himself to be proclaimed regent for his father James. A reward of thirty thousand pounds was promised to whoever would bring him dead or alive; but, on the contrary, in his manifestoes he forbid any attempts to be made on the person of George II. This contrast might have gained the hearts of great numbers.

He is proclaimed regent at Edinburgh.

An English general having advanced with more than four thousand men, the prince made haste to engage them; when his Highlanders, who, though inferior in number, and ignorant of discipline, after having fired their pieces, rushed upon the enemy sword in hand, and gained a complete victory. The king made haste to return to England, and, dreading a revolution, recalled his troops from the continent; but the assistance which Charles Edward received from France was insufficient; he was destitute of money, and lost Edinburgh for want of cannon to reduce the castle.

He gains a battle.

Though twice conqueror, he was obliged, in the month of January, 1746, to retire to Inverness, to which he was pursued by the duke of Cumberland; and a battle was fought at Culloden the 27th of April, when Charles Edward was defeated, and his whole army routed. Reduced to the necessity of concealing himself in morasses, caverns, and deserted islands, he was exposed to the greatest dangers, and suffered every imaginable horror, till he at last arrived at a part of the coast where he was waited for by two French frigates. He embarked, and escaped from his enemies in the month of September. Some Scotch peers, and a number of other

He is defeated without resource.

His flight.

Executions.

other people, were executed. Lord Lovat, an old man of fourscore, repeated upon the scaffold that verse of Horace—*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*.<sup>\*</sup> A young student, with the most pressing earnestness, begged to die in his stead.

Such was the conclusion of this enterprise, which might have changed the face of affairs in England, if France and Spain had been in a situation to have supported it with a considerable naval force: however, it proved a favourable diversion for these crowns; but it exasperated the hatred of the English, and made them pursue the war with greater inveteracy.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Expeditions by Sea.—Anson. La Bourdonnaie. Du Pleix.*

European colonies a source of violence.

THE more that commerce and European establishments in America and India are entitled to admiration, from the prodigies of industry which they present to our attention, the greater have been the calamities they have brought upon commercial nations; since war breaks the ties of humanity, which commerce should form among all mankind. When that happens, nations only think of destroying themselves, by seeking to ruin one another both at sea and on shore. This wonderful industry then becomes an instrument of alarms, rapine, and madness; the weakest are always oppressed, and even the strongest are great sufferers.

Superiority of the English by means of their fleet.

In such circumstances, nothing can supply the want of a fleet; and the English, in this respect, had an infinite advantage, since their navy amounted to two hundred and sixty three ships of war, including frigates, bomb ketches, and fire ships. If the number of soldiers

\* What joys, what glories, round him wait,  
Who bravely for his country dies!

FRANCIS.

diers corresponded with their shipping, or if it were possible to arm so many ships at once, would not such a power crush all the rest? France had only about thirty five ships of war; yet she had colonies to defend, a maritime trade to protect, and of course much room for apprehension.

We shall only point out the most remarkable enter-  
prises; observing, at the same time, that the thirst of gold, from which they proceeded, must tarnish them in the eyes of men of reflection. Commodore Anson, in 1741, after having burned the town of Païta, on the coast of Peru, proposed to take the galeon which was sent annually from Mexico to Manilla in the Philippine islands. He got before it by way of the Pacific ocean, having only one ship left of his squadron; he went to visit at China; and, having discovered the galeon, attacked and took her in the year 1743. With this rich booty he returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived in triumph at the capital in 1744; loaded with treasure, which is said to have amounted to 400,000*l.* sterling. His voyage round the world lasted three years and a half; of which we have a curious account, where the Chinese are treated with great asperity.

Anson's  
voyage.

Capture  
of the  
Spanish  
galeon.

Can it be believed, that a captain of a privateer, named Talbot, with his single ship made prize of two French vessels, freighted by the Spaniards, before the declaration of war between England and France, whose cargoes were valued at about twelve hundred thousand pounds! Each sailor shared eight hundred and fifty guineas; so that we may judge of the immense booty made by the officers. They who consider objects in a moral view, will undoubtedly lament the insatiable avarice which inspires men with the desire of such adventures; but, since Europeans have been led to the extremities of the earth by avaricious motives, it has been a perpetual source of great enterprises and great mischiefs.

Prize tak-  
en by  
captain  
Talbot.



The English take Louisburgh.

The English already meditated the conquest of Canada, and were desirous to take from France her possessions in North America. Their colony of New England, at its own expense, fitted out an armament against Cape Breton, a place advantageously situated for the cod fishery; and, with four ships of war which were sent from England, its forces were sufficient for the enterprise. Louisburgh, though unprovided with ammunition, defended itself near two months, but was obliged at last to surrender. Some vessels richly loaded arrived in that port, without suspecting any danger, and fell into the hands of the enemy; which was another loss, in 1746, of about a million sterling. In a single engagement at another place, France lost two ships of war, and thirty sail of merchantmen.

They gain two victories at sea.

Anson, having been made a vice admiral, defeated the French fleet off Cape Finisterre. The same year, 1747, admiral Hawke gained a second victory; and the French navy was reduced to a single ship. In these actions the French always signalized their courage, but against such superiour power as could not be resisted.

Expedition of Bourdonnaie against Madras. 1746.

The French East India Company, who were always imagined to be more useful than they were in fact, had ships of war and forces of their own. They carried on war, which was at first attended with dazzling success. Mahé de la Bourdonnaie, governour of the isle of Bourbon, undertook the siege of Madras on the coast of Coromandel, which was the principal English settlement. Having defeated and dispersed one of their squadrons, he forced the town to surrender; but, as orders from court forbid the keeping of any conquest made in India, he agreed with the inhabitants to ransom the place for 421,666l. 13s. 4d.

Du Pleix loses the fruits of the conquest, and persecutes Bourdonnaie;

Rivalship and discord have at all times poisoned the sources of the public good. Du Pleix, governour general at Pondicherry, disapproved of this capitulation; and, having violated it, destroyed a part of Madras, ruined the settlers, and lost the fruits of the conquest.

He

He caused the council of Pondicherry to subscribe violent memorials against a man who had done such important service, and discharged his duty with honour. La Bourdonnaie, on his return to France, was thrown into the Bastile, where he remained more than three years; at last he was acquitted, but died of a disorder which he had contracted in prison.

If Du Pleix made himself odious by his injustice to a deserving rival, whose services entitled him to public gratitude, he, in other respects, by his abilities and labours, merited the esteem of the nation. In the year 1748 he had the honour of saving Pondicherry, which was besieged both by sea and land by the English admiral, Boscawen. Having received a red ribband, he, in some degree, reigned in India. He intermeddled in the civil wars between the *nabobs*, vassals of the Great Mogul, tyrants contending with one another, like the vassals of kings under the feudal government in Europe, and gained some provinces. After the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, of which I am going to give an account, he maintained a war against the English, who were enemies of the nabob, whom he protected from policy; but such brilliant success, and so great power, only terminated in disgrace. A rash attempt on Madura ruined him irrecoverably: being defeated by the English, he was recalled to France in 1753, when he was obliged to carry on a law suit against the India company for the wreck of his fortune, and died of vexation.

but he  
saves Pon-  
dicherry.

Enterpri-  
ses of Du  
Pleix.

Thus Bourdonnaie, Du Pleix, and afterwards the famous count Lally, who was beheaded in 1766, are striking examples of the miseries which people go in search of to the country of gold and diamonds. The French, perhaps, as well as the Spaniards, have not sufficiently valued the treasures which their own country presented to their industry; but let us at least wish, since luxury has made the commodities of India necessary, that commerce may be better directed, and more free; and that a new company, if ever one does exist, may not attempt

Misfor-  
tunes of  
some  
French-  
men in  
India.

to support the expenses and carry on the enterprises of sovereignty, which brought on the ruin of the former. The English and Dutch companies ought not to serve as an example to us: from the difference of governments result essential differences in this department, as well as in several others.

## CHAP. IX.

*Siege of Maestricht, and Peace of Aix la Chapelle.—Events posterior to that Treaty, till the Peace of 1763.*

Obstinacy  
of the ene-  
mies of  
France.

THE war which sprung from the disputed succession of the house of Austria, had continued an universal scourge from the year 1741; and the people were exhausted, because kings thought proper to contend. The English supplies which were granted to the king by the parliament, amounted, in 1747, to nine millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling, which equally serves to shew the astonishing resources of England, and the enormous debt the nation must have contracted: however, such is the obstinacy of national prejudice, that they still wanted to continue the war. Louis XV. by offering peace after every victory, in vain shewed a moderation, which the enemy ascribed either to weakness or dissimulation: he could not accomplish his purpose of giving peace to Europe, but by striking some strokes which would make Holland tremble; and mareschal Saxe, like a good politician, said—*The peace is in Maestricht.*

1748.  
Siege of  
Maestricht  
brings  
about a  
peace.

An army of fourscore thousand men, commanded by the duke of Cumberland, obstructed the siege of that town; it was therefore necessary to deceive him; this mareschal Saxe did, by displaying the whole skill of his profession, of which he had made himself a perfect master,

ter, like a Cæsar or a Turenne; and at last the place was invested on the fifth of April 1748. Thirty five thousand Russians were advancing, and had already reached the centre of Germany; but, before they could be of any use, Maëstricht was destined to submit. Holland was struck with dismay; and the enemy at last sued for a peace, which they had so often refused: accordingly, the preliminaries were signed at Aix la Chapelle the 30th April, and the definitive treaty the 18th October.

Here we have another remarkable proof of the mischiefs of war. It had been proposed to dismember the Austrian succession in every quarter, and chiefly to procure a considerable establishment for don Philip in Italy; yet he got nothing but Parma, Placentia and Guastalla, without being able to secure the succession to the females of his family. Maria Theresa preserved the Milanese, except some dismemberments ceded to the king of Sardinia, and lost nothing in Germany but Silesia and the county of Glatz. In a word, that power which it was intended almost to destroy, was but slightly injured, and all the rest joined to guarantee the pragmatic of Charles VI. in the most solemn manner; that is, the new order of succession established for his descendants. The former guarantees could not prevent the war; and the last ought to be more effectual in cases of necessity, where neither treaties nor experience have had any permanent influence.

Peace of  
Aix la  
Chapelle.

Louis XV. concluded the peace, *not like a merchant, but like a king*, as was said by his plenipotentiary, the count de Saint Severin. He abandoned all his conquests. His allies, the duke of Modena, son in law of the celebrated duke of Orleans, and the republic of Genoa, recovered all their rights and dominions. The kingdom of the two Sicilies was secured to don Carlos. The new order of succession to the crown of England was guaranteed to the family of Hanover; and France, as formerly, was obliged not to suffer the Stuarts in her

France  
gives up  
all her  
conquests.

Few ad-  
vantages  
to Eng-  
land.

dominions.



dominions. Charles Edward refusing to retire, it was thought necessary to use violence ; he was therefore arrested, and put in prison. Fatal unravelling of his adventures ! The English restored their conquests ; and some commercial advantages were all the fruits they gathered from their expense and obstinacy.

This treaty was defective.

It is inconceivable that at the conclusion of this war, with a knowledge of the fatal consequences occasioned by the defects of former treaties, the most prudent measures were not taken to obviate such dreadful inconveniences. Politicians are sometimes, like other people, exceedingly impatient to be freed from the present evil, and think very little of preventing the future. Every thing was done with precipitation ; essential things were neglected ; and, in a degree, the seeds of a new war were sown in the treaty of peace. Few treaties have been more deserving of criticism.

Remarkable fault with regard to Parma.

According to the order of succession established for the kingdom of Naples, don Carlos could leave the crown to one of his sons, in case he succeeded to that of Spain ; however, it was supposed in the preliminaries, that in that event don Philip should ascend the throne of Naples. To repair this neglect, it cost France nine millions of livres, which were given to the king of Sardinia, who otherwise must have got Placentia and part of its territories. In 1759 don Carlos (Charles III.) succeeded his brother Ferdinand VI. king of Spain, and left the two Sicilies to one of his sons, Ferdinand IV. To what a state must Parma have been reduced, had it not been for the generosity of Louis XV !

A greater fault with regard to America.

Besides a number of neglected articles, a fault of the greatest consequence in the negotiations of Aix la Chapelle, was the abandoning to chance, or rather to discord, the rights to the disputed countries in America. The pretensions of the English, who had been in possession of Acadia (Nova Scotia) since the treaty of Utrecht, and inclined to extend their dominion into Canada, were not unknown. Their rapacious and enterprising temper

temper was likewise known ; and it ought to have been foreseen, that if the boundaries were not properly fixed, they would furnish a thousand pretences for a rupture. But far from fixing the limits, it was stipulated that *all things should be replaced on the footing they were, or ought to have been, before the present war.* What advantage might not be taken from these words, *or ought to have been*, by people who wanted to encroach upon their neighbours ! The deserts of North America, so little known in Europe, and apparently of so little consequence, by this means became a nursery of discord and hostilities.

In fact, from the year 1749, the court of France had reason for complaint against that of London, on account of attempts the English had already made by force of arms ; for it was by this means they wanted to settle things again *on the footing they ought to have been.* The negotiations were long and fruitless ; and the more Louis was desirous of peace, the more was the English nation anxious for war. Before there was an open rupture, the court of London caused the French ships bound to Canada to be attacked ; and the outrage was carried to such a degree, that the most pacific of kings was obliged to take up arms. The English ministry had changed their system ; and, instead of exhausting themselves in the disputes of others upon the continent of Europe, they resolved to employ their maritime power in making conquests in countries which culture and industry might render exceedingly flourishing.

Such was the origin of the war of 1755 ; a war which produced events almost incredible ; in which France sunk from glory to the lowest humiliation ; conquering at first the island of Minorca and the electorate of Hanover, and afterwards losing her settlements in Asia, Africa, and America ; victorious in her first engagements, and then defeated when she seemed most certain of victory. The astonishing alliance of the king of Prussia with England extinguished the long enmity between

Origin of  
the war of  
1755.

Sketch of  
that fatal  
& incon-  
ceivable  
war.

Success of  
the king  
of Prussia.

tween the houses of France and Austria, and united them as closely as they had been cruelly armed against each other for more than two centuries. The unconquerable Frederick, by an invasion of Saxony, prevented the designs which he imagined were formed against him, and kindled a war, of which in all appearance he must necessarily fall the victim; when he had France, Sweden, Russia, Austria, and a great part of the empire against him, and found in himself, in his abilities, courage, economy and activity, such resources as were in no other power. He was on the point of being totally ruined, after an entire defeat at Prague in 1757; yet that same year he defeated the French and Imperialists at Rosbach, immediately after gained the victory of Lissa, and again became formidable at the very instant when he less thought of conquering than dying with honour. The *family compact* strengthened the ties of nature, by uniting all the branches of the house of Bourbon; the new king of Spain, Charles III. abandoned the system of neutrality, which had been adopted by his brother Ferdinand VI. and the English triumphed over Spain, as they had done over France; taking from her the Havanna in the isle of Cuba, in the sea of Mexico; Manilla and the Philippines in the East Indies, with the immense riches of these colonies, which a weak navy could not defend against the lords of the sea.

Family  
compact.

Peace of  
1763.

After seven years of destruction in every quarter of the globe, the war was brought to an end in 1763, by the treaties of Paris and Hubersburgh, in a manner the most glorious for the enemies of the houses of France and Austria. On the one hand, the dominions of Prussia were nothing impaired; on the other, England gained about two thousand leagues of country in North America, reaching from the river St. Lawrence to the Mississippi; and the fortifications of Dunkirk towards the sea were again to be demolished.

Observa-  
tions on  
the Eng-

There is no doubt but Canada, and other parts of North America, which were of little advantage to France

France and Spain, may be of very great consequence to-lish con-  
 England. Her colonies prosper in the bosom of liberty ; quests in  
 they are governed by their own laws, and they tax North  
 themselves, agriculture incessantly multiplying their America.  
 resources : though the mother country in some respects  
 restrains their commerce, the encouragements and as-  
 sistance which they receive make an advantageous com-  
 pensation. The population of the English colonies  
 sufficiently proves how flourishing they are, and how  
 formidable they may become. It seems that Great  
 Britain threatens to swallow up all America ; but has it  
 not always been observed, that a vast increase of power  
 presaged a fall ; and if the colonies, becoming too pow-  
 erful, detach themselves from the mother country, as is  
 probable, ought such conquests greatly to flatter am-  
 bition ?

I shall conclude with the words of a celebrated histo- Misfor-  
 rian, who has been better informed than any other of tunes of  
 modern times. “ France lost, in the course of this fa- the war.  
 “ tal war, the flower of her youth, more than half the  
 “ current coin which circulated in the kingdom, her  
 “ fleet, her commerce, and her credit. It was believed  
 “ that it would have been easy to have prevented so  
 “ many misfortunes by accommodating matters with  
 “ England, for a small disputed territory in the neigh-  
 “ bourhood of Canada ; but some ambitious persons,  
 “ to gain importance, and render themselves necessary,  
 “ precipitated France into this fatal war : the same  
 “ thing happened in 1741, when the vanity of two or  
 “ three people was sufficient to spread desolation through  
 “ Europe. France was in such pressing necessity for  
 “ this peace, that they who concluded it were regarded  
 “ as the greatest benefactors of their country ; and the  
 “ debts with which the nation was overwhelmed were  
 “ still greater than those of Louis XIV. The expense  
 “ of the extraordinaries only in this war amounted, in  
 “ one year, to four hundred millions of livres, and by  
 “ that we may judge of the rest. France must have  
 “ been



“been a great loser, even if she had proved victorious.”  
(*Precis de Siecle de Louis XV.*)

Other  
misfor-  
tunes of  
society  
during  
this cen-  
tury.

To the dreadful scourge of war let us add those of nature, of intestine discords, and prevailing vices ; earthquakes, which destroyed opulent cities, Lima in 1746, and Lisbon in 1755 ; wretchedness, by which countries are depopulated, and agriculture cramped ; luxury, enriching frivolous talents, and wresting bread from the hands of useful industry ; an unbridled desire of wealth and pleasure, which stifles even the principles of morality in the multitude, and carries corruption or despondency into the hearts of the virtuous ; a passion for shining, which almost totally prevents men from making themselves really estimable ; religious dissensions, which, though on the decline, still leave a leaven of civil discord ; conflicts of authority, which propagate a gloomy disquiet, and increase the dangerous disorders of the body politic ; irreligion carried to such an extreme, as to extinguish the idea of a God, and annihilate the fundamental principles of virtue. At such a view, we should be tempted to believe that the progress of reason, which is evident in every thing, is but an indifferent advantage for the human race.

But reason  
has deli-  
vered us  
from  
greater  
evils.

But, if we look back to the ancient ages, those times when ferocious manners scarcely left any vestiges of humanity ; where savage, yet vicious nature, rushed headlong into all sorts of crimes ; where only merciless tyrants and stupid slaves were to be seen ; where entire nations were governed by monstrous prejudices ; where a sanguinary anarchy erected the right of the strongest into the only law ; where superstition, so destructive of itself, kindled the rage of fanaticism ; where civil wars continually renewed the massacres of the people ; in a word, where there was nothing to be met but stupidity, blindness, injustice, barbarity, oppression, the blackest crimes and severest calamities ; we shall then be sensible of the value of the arts and sciences, social manners, and beneficent, though imperfect laws, which are en-  
joyed

joyed by a great part of Europe; and confess, that amidst great abuses and great vices, reason brought to the highest pitch of improvement opens the way for prudence and happiness, and at least softens the calamities of life.

It would perhaps be proper, in this place, to follow the progress of the human mind during the epocha of Louis XIV. to remark the advancement it has made, especially in the pursuit of learning and the sciences; but to do that, it would be necessary to exceed the bounds of this work, or to give only very imperfect observations on subjects already well known. I shall content myself with remarking, that the rivalship of France and England is not less keen in this respect, than in whatever belongs to their political interests. The English have, from the first, distinguished themselves by a depth of genius in the culture of the sciences, which can never be disputed with them; the French have displayed, in the belles-lettres, the agreeable or sublime talents, those graces and that taste by which they are characterised. The former have afterwards displayed the brightest charms of poetry, imagination, elegance, and true beauty, united to the treasures of knowledge and reason; the latter have contended with them in their turn, and not without success, by a strength of genius capable of penetrating whatever is within the reach of the human understanding. If the first are superiour, from a connected train of thought and a steady perseverance, in which they are favoured by the national character, the second perhaps excel in a delicacy of feeling, a justness of method and clearness of style, which even their rivals sometimes acknowledge by imitating them. In a word, I may venture to say, they share between them the glory of furnishing models for all Europe, and instructing it in whatever is worthy the attention of mankind.

Rivalship  
in France  
and Eng-  
land, in  
learning  
and the  
sciences.

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OF THE STATE  
AND  
PRINCIPAL REVOLUTIONS  
OF  
ASIA,  
IN THE LAST AGES.

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*[The History of modern Asia is only a subject for the study of the learned; while that of Europe, so extensive and necessary, contains all kinds of instruction; and we may, without regret, be satisfied to remain in ignorance of that with which we are not so intimately concerned. However, it is of consequence to have some general idea of those nations that were first civilized, as an essential part of the knowledge of the human race; and we shall endeavour to collect, in a small space, the objects of so useful a curiosity.]*

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CHAP. I.  
CHINA.

Antiquity  
of the  
Chinese  
Empire.

**T**HAT the Chinese empire has, or has not, been established above four thousand years, is an historical problem, subject to a number of difficulties, whichsoever opinion we choose to adopt. This prodigious antiquity, which, according to some celebrated writers, has been confirmed by unquestioned astronomical

cal

cal observations, is combated by other learned men who seem to have studied the matter very deeply, or at least to have judged without prejudice. The fables with which the ancient Chinese annals are overspread, must undoubtedly very much weaken all the proofs which are brought of their authenticity; and when falsehood predominates, how shall we distinguish truth with certainty? It is no less certain that China, a number of ages before our era, was a powerful civilized state, governed as it is at present, having good laws, and more particularly an excellent system of morality. Confucius, that philosophic legislator, was born about five hundred and fifty years before Jesus Christ, about the time of the death of Solon; and nothing in the world, at so early a period, equalled the greatness of the Chinese empire.

Twenty two dynasties have been reckoned, who reigned successively in China; may we not conclude then, with Montesquieu, that such a government must be despotic? Is a true monarchy, tempered by laws, subject to so many violent revolutions? The dynasties in general have begun well, and ended badly. "It was natural for emperours brought up in the toils of war, who dethroned a family immersed in delights, to preserve that virtue of which they experienced the advantage; and dread those pleasures they had seen so destructive; but after the reigns of the three or four first princes, corruption, luxury, idleness and voluptuousness captivated their successors; they shut themselves up in their palaces, their minds became enervated, their lives were abridged, and their families declined; the nobles raised themselves, the eunuchs acquired influence; none but children were placed upon the throne; the palace became inimical to the empire, and the idle part of the inhabitants ruined the industrious; the emperour was killed or dethroned by an usurper, who founded a new family, whose third or fourth successor shut himself up likewise in the same palace." (*Esprit des Lois, livre vii. chap. 7.*) This picture seems to be drawn after nature. M.

Frequent revolutions, according to Montesquieu, a proof of despotism.



Contrary  
opinion to  
that of  
Montes-  
quieu. M. de Voltaire judges quite differently. He sees nothing more prudent than the Chinese government, where the affairs of the empire are examined and regulated by great tribunals; where the prince is obliged to consult men of learning, who have been promoted because of their merit. In a word, the idea of despotism, which he does not even allow to exist in Turkey, appears to him absurd in China. The opposition of opinions between two men of superiour genius, upon a fact of this nature, should make us sensible how limited is human capacity. Yet there are people who pretend to clear up the obscurity of ancient history; and, upon some dark and unconnected passages, venture to raise systems.

True state  
of the  
question.

Perhaps, however, the dispute turns rather upon words than upon things. Undoubtedly, that pure despotism by which an individual shall be master of the lives and properties of all the rest, no where exists, and cannot be exercised in a great empire, where the laws and manners obstruct it by a permanent barrier. But does the will of the prince overpower the authority of the laws? Do fear and violence, or rather the capricious orders of a court, prove the most effectual spring of government? That is the point to which the question should be reduced; and then there seem to be known facts sufficient to decide, which are taken from Jesuit missionaries, great admirers of a government so consonant to their principles of obedience.

Fear the  
spring of  
the Chi-  
nese go-  
vernment.

The most profound respect for paternal authority is the basis, and the emperor is revered as the common father of the empire. Happy the subjects, when they worthily support so honourable a title! But that father who is almost worshipped as a God, and whose ordinances the people dare not examine, by that means naturally becomes a despot. If he pleases, nothing can resist him; every thing bends, every thing submits. Favourites and eunuchs may, in his name, annul the most equitable decrees, commit and render sacred the most crying  
acts.

acts of injustice. Fear, rather than filial love, regulates the obedience of the mandarins and people. An expression of F. du Halde says every thing: *It is by the rudge that China is governed.*

If the Chinese in general do not feel the scourges of despotism, is it not because the interest of the sovereign serves for a protection? Is it not that the manners, the customs, the invariable ceremonies, which, by their perpetual duration, have become a second nature to that great people, render the exercise of tyranny equally difficult and dangerous? Do not the principles and opinions which have taken firm root over the whole empire, to a certain degree, check the most absolute power? There is reason to believe that the Chinese are content with their lot; and it is likewise probable, that the same government would have a contrary effect in another country.

If an emperor have but the smallest share of sentiment, the tribunal of history is extremely well calculated to moderate his passions. The mandarins, of whom this tribunal is composed, every one apart keeps an exact register of all that he either does or says, that is remarkable, or of importance to the good of the state. They throw their papers signed into a kind of chest, which is never opened till after the reigning dynasty is extinct. These are the materials for the history of the current reign. Nothing can make the mandarins, who have the charge of such an honourable employment, betray the truth. Undoubtedly the institution is excellent; but wherefore wait the end of a dynasty? A late publication is infinitely less capable of encouraging virtue, or deterring vice. It may be reasonably suspected that despotism has corrupted this admirable establishment.

The famous wall, which extended five hundred leagues, forty five feet high, eighteen feet thick, which was constructed before our era, to protect them from the invasion of the Tartars, has not prevented China from

Defences  
against  
despotism.

Tribunal  
of history.

China  
twice con-  
quered.

from being twice conquered ; the first time, in the thirteenth century, by Jenghiz Kan and his sons ; and afterwards in the seventeenth ; which last is the only revolution that I have occasion to mention in this place.

Invasion  
of the  
Mantchew  
Tartars.

Some violences committed against the Mantchew Tartars provoked that free and warlike people, who revenged their quarrel by taking up arms. Hardened to every kind of fatigue, dreading nothing, and contemning death, they had as great a superiority over the Chinese in war, as the Chinese had over them in civilization. The northern provinces were conquered,

Revolt of  
a mandarin.

while a revolted mandarin made himself master of the southern. In 1641, that victorious mandarin took possession of Pekin, the capital of the empire ; an immense city, which is said to contain two millions of inhabitants. Such was the weakness and cowardice of the emperour, that he did not attempt to defend himself. The empress hanged herself : forty wives, which he had still remaining, hanged themselves by his orders, or at least by his invitation : his daughter refusing to imitate them, he killed her with a stroke of his sabre ; but he did not strangle himself till he had waited without the city for the last news of inevitable destruction.

Cruelties  
in the  
palace.

The Tartars  
establish  
themselves  
in  
China.

Taitfong, chief of the Tartars, a man of sufficient greatness of mind to make his countrymen submit to law, continued to prosecute his conquests. Under the minority of Changti, his nephew, who succeeded him, the mandarin usurper was killed, and the conquerors subdued almost the whole empire. At last their dominion was solidly established under Kam-hi, who was still very young when he succeeded his father Changti. After a war of about thirty years, all China remained under the dominion of a barbarous people, but who were as prudent as they were terrible, since they adopted the laws and customs of the country.

Progress  
of the  
missionaries.

Kam-hi, whose reign began in 1661, cultivated the sciences, and favoured the Jesuit missionaries, who, by  
their

their means, were introduced into the imperial palace. Then Christianity made some progress in the empire; but the rivalships and disputes between the Jesuits and other missionaries; the accusations of idolatry, which were carried to Rome on the subject of the Chinese rites; the contentious temper of the Europeans, who breathed a spirit of discord into that pacific people; but, more particularly, the dread of their ambitious enterprises, so frequently concealed under the mask of religion; contributed totally to overthrow all the effects of their zeal and their preachings.

Yontching, who succeeded Kam-hi in 1722, abolished the laws which were made by his father in favour of Christianity. He caused their churches to be thrown down, and those people who were only missionaries to be sent out of the empire; while he kept the mathematicians, the learned, and the artists, of whose value he was not ignorant. "If I was to send a number of bonzes and lamas (monks and priests of China) into your country, said he to the Jesuits, how would you receive them? You want that all the Chinese should become Christians; your law requires it, I know it; but in that case, what would become of us? We should be the subjects of your kings; your disciples acknowledge only you, and, in a time of trouble, would hearken to no other voice but yours. I know there is nothing to be dreaded at present; but, when your ships come in thousands, disorders may arise." (*Vid. Lettres Edif. f. 17.*) What happened at Japan, which we shall very soon have occasion to mention, gave weight to this discourse.

We shall here add a few interesting remarks. The empire of China comprises about six hundred leagues in length, and as many in breadth, and contains an infinite number of people: consequently agriculture is there in the greatest degree of perfection, and in all times the prince has made it his duty to honour and encourage it.

ries under  
Kam-hi.Christia-  
nity pro-  
scribed in  
1722.Zeal for  
agricul-  
ture.



Remarks-  
ble ordi-  
nance.

The annual ceremony when he sets the example of tillage is well known, and it is observed with the same attention in the provinces by the mandarins. There is an imperial ordinance, which bears—*It was a maxim of our ancestors, that if any man did not employ himself in labour, or a woman in spinning, some person must suffer cold or hunger in the empire.* The author of the ordinance builds upon this maxim the necessity of destroying the monasteries of the bonzes. If he has, in fact, destroyed them, superstition has since gained a great triumph over the legislator.

Produce of  
the lands.

The Chinese keep no animals but what are absolutely necessary, because they have not more than sufficient for the maintenance of the people. When they travel they are carried by men; and the canals serve for transporting merchandise. Whatever can be of use for the manuring of land, even urine, is carefully preserved. According to M. Poivre, in the southern provinces they make three harvests of rice in the year, and the land every time yields more than a hundred for one, without ever lying fallow. The poor live only upon rice, work almost naked, or clothed in cotton. An arpent,\* perhaps, produces cotton sufficient to clothe five hundred people; so that the maintenance of the poor is easy, in every respect. A tenth of the produce of the lands, which is more or less according to the soil, makes the prodigious revenue of the emperor; it is the sole tax, and paid in kind to magistrates, who have the direction of it. A part remains in store for the necessities of the public. However, if a year of scarcity happens, so numerous are the people, they die by thousands. What would be their situation under a government less mild, and less provident? (See *Voyages d'un Philosophe.*)

The  
tenths the  
only tax.

Chinese  
knavery  
accounted  
for by  
Montes-  
quieu,

However extraordinary the contrast may appear between the knavery and the system of morality among the Chinese, the author of *The Spirit of Laws* undertakes to account for it from the nature of things.

“ When

\* An arpent is a hundred perches.

“ When all the people obey, and are all diligent, the state is in a happy situation. It is necessity, and perhaps the nature of the climate, which has inspired the Chinese with an inconceivable avidity of gain, and no laws have been made to stop its progress. Every attempt to acquire by violence has been prohibited; but there is no interruption to the acquisitions of artifice or industry. Let us not then compare the morals of the Chinese with those of Europe. Every person in China must be attentive to whatever is an advantage to him: if the knave is watchful over his interest, the dupe ought to be equally attentive. At Lacedemon, it was lawful to steal; in China, it is lawful to cheat.” (L. xiv. ch. 20.) That necessity may inspire the desire of cheating, is easy to be conceived; but that knavery should be agreeable to that moral system so celebrated in China, is not credible. There is frequently an infinite difference between the legislation which permits or tolerates, and the moral system which approves. The example of Lacedemon is ill applied.

We must conclude, that excessive population brings great inconveniences: it even obliges the people of China to expose their children, and sell their daughters; it causes distrust in commerce, since it occasions knavery. Do they not find the good mixed with the bad? The masterpiece of legislation in this vast empire, is the having made provision for maintaining the interior tranquillity, notwithstanding the incredible multitude of inhabitants; and the activity with which they carry on their labours, notwithstanding the heat of a climate which inspires effeminacy.

It is universally known, that the study of the language and the Chinese characters employing almost the whole life of the literati, is an invincible obstacle to the progress of knowledge, independent of national prejudices, and the absolute empire of opinion or customs. But the Chinese have had the good sense to attach

Excessive  
popula-  
tion.

Great art  
of legisla-  
tion.

The Chi-  
nese little  
acquaint-  
ed with  
science,  
but much  
with mo-  
rals.

themselves to essentials; to a judicious, beneficent system of morality, which, with few precepts and much practice, prevents irregularities, unites all the members of the community by mutual considerations, and in the bosom of peace perpetuates the prosperity of the state. A people who are thus governed by morals, whatever faults they may have, will always be much happier than nations who are refined by taste, and governed by fashion.

## CHAP. II.

## J A P A N.

Character  
of the  
Japanese.

Pontifical  
govern-  
ment de-  
stroyed.

Religious  
toleration.

THE empire of Japan is formed of a number of islands, which are situated to the east of China. The Japanese have never been subdued. Fierce, bold, unconquerable, of a disposition so atrocious as even to make a sport of suicide, yet they obey the most tyrannical laws, and of course such as are most capable of irritating that ferocity of manners. About six hundred and sixty years before the Christian era, they had a pontiff for emperor, whom they called *Dairi*, or *Dairo*. About the end of the sixteenth century, the dairis experienced the same revolution as the califs who were the successors of Mahomet. The general of the forces had seized the real power, leaving to him only a pompous title, his women, riches and luxury, which he enjoys at Meaco. The religious ceremonies give little disturbance to government.

One thing very remarkable in Japan, China, and almost all over Asia, is the toleration granted to the different modes of worship; which at first facilitated the establishment and progress of Christianity. If the true religion alone was afterwards excluded from those advantages which were enjoyed by so many absurd sects,

the

the ambitious projects of the Europeans, and the faults of a number of missionaries, are the true cause.

Japan was discovered, about the middle of the sixteenth century, by the Portuguese, who carried on a considerable commerce with that people. Gold and silver mines, tea, porcelain, &c. attracted them to this country, from whence they brought immense treasures. St. Francis Xavier, a Jesuit of their nation, was induced, by his apostolic zeal, to go to that country; and, being a man of resolution, ability, and indefatigable perseverance, desirous only of making conversions, and ambitious of gaining the crown of martyrdom, his zeal was attended with most remarkable success; which, in some degree, may be ascribed to the conformity of his austere virtue, and the hopes he gave of a blessed life, with the situation and manners of the Japanese. Missionaries flocked thither, and the Christian faith struck roots which were equally vigorous and extensive.

Christianity introduced into Japan by the Portuguese.

It is easy to judge of the rage of the bonzes. Kaempfer, a Dutch traveller of singular merit, represents them as selfish fanatics, slaves of superstition, by which they governed the people; affecting a dreadful austerity, and accumulating riches; preaching up morality and the end of the world; but always concluding by saying, that the best means to prevail with the gods, is to ornament the temples, and enrich the monasteries; in a word, by abusing the credulity of the people to such a degree, as to sell to them the merit of their good works; and even for their money giving them bills of exchange, payable in the next world. These bonzes, who are excessively numerous, were the most formidable enemies of a religion which unmasked their impostures; but the contempt and hatred which they deserved did not a little contribute to increase the number of adherents of the new doctrine. All superstitions whose ministers are decried, are exposed to great hazards.

The bonzes decried.

In 1585, Gregory XIII. received an embassy from three Japanese princes, which afforded a matter of triumph.

Japanese embassy at Rome.



umph to the Romish church and the Jesuits. The emperor, however, about the same time, disturbed the progress of Christianity; and, dreading lest it should occasion some commotions in the state, or a foreign invasion, prohibited the exercise of that religion, under pain of death. From that time punishments began; martyrdom was courted, the missionaries became more zealous, and the proselytes more numerous.

The Christians persecuted.

Conspiracy discovered by the Dutch.

Persecution continued a long time, then abated, and by intervals was again revived. The Portuguese and Spaniards, governed by the same king since the reign of Philip II. continued their commerce to that country, and new preachers could arrive in crowds; but the jealousy of the Dutch ruined all their hopes. In 1637 they discovered a conspiracy of the Spaniards to the emperor, and proved it by letters, which they said they had taken on board a ship. The Spaniards exclaimed against the unjust accusation; but the revolt of the Japanese Christians of Arima, who took up arms, to the amount of thirty thousand, leaves little room to doubt of the reality of the enterprise: it was but too conformable to the principles of so many conquests, or rather usurpations, exercised in both hemispheres.

Edict against the Christians

This was the origin of the famous edict by which all strangers, even the Chinese, are absolutely prohibited from entering Japan, and all the Japanese forbidden to depart from it under pain of death. The same edict condemns every Christian to be put in prison, and promises a considerable reward to whoever shall discover a Christian priest. The only favour which the Dutch obtained, was the liberty of landing on an island near Nangazaki, by swearing that they were not of the same religion with the Portuguese, and to prove it, as is said, by treading upon the cross. To this place they carry their merchandize, upon which they put a price; and if they have the honour of being taken to court, it is still a certain humiliation, since their guard never loses sight of them, and is obliged by oath to give an account

How the Dutch go to Japan.

of

of their proceedings. The avidity of commerce makes these rich republicans, the sovereigns of Batavia, submit to such disgraceful treatment: undoubtedly they derive considerable profits from that trade.

Notwithstanding the multitude of sects established in Japan, there have never been, according to Kaempfer, any religious disputes; which is a proof that Christianity would not have been persecuted and destroyed, but from a dread of a revolution in the state. Neither the Japanese nor Chinese would have treated the Christians with severity, if it had not been for the quarrels, cabals, and interested views which very soon mingled with the sanctity of the gospel. To convert the people, is it necessary to disturb and alarm the government? Divine wisdom teaches the contrary; but unfortunately almost all the missions have terminated in that manner.

No religious disputes in the empire.

One particular worthy the attention of history is, the resemblance of a number of the religious practices among the Japanese with ours: such as a hierarchy, a kind of canonizations, processions and pilgrimages, penances and monastic austerities, lamps and candles in the temples, a sort of chaplet for prayers, bells, which are rung at fixed hours for that purpose, &c. And what appears still more extraordinary, the sign of the cross is in use in that country, which is made in the form of a saint Andrew's cross, or saltier. A number of other examples, in all parts of the world, prove that among the most distant nations, and the most opposite in their nature, chance, or rather the turn of the human mind, has produced extraordinary conformities both in ideas and customs, especially in their forms of worship. But where, out of Christianity, shall we find that sublime and affecting idea of the Supreme Being; that system of morality, equally simple and perfect, which can raise one of the vulgar to the highest pitch of wisdom?

Religious practices resembling ours.

## CHAP. III.

*Persia and the Mogul's Empire.*

Persia under  
Shah Abbas.

**I**N the time of Chardin, a celebrated traveller, who died in 1713, Persia was still a flourishing empire, at least if a judgment might be formed from the magnificence of the court, and the populousness of the great towns, which are sometimes deceitful proofs. Isfahan, the capital, might be compared to London; Tauris and Cachan were considerable commercial cities. Shah Abbas, a cruel, but bold and politic prince, had deprived the Turks of their conquests in Persia, driven the Portuguese from Ormus, abolished a militia similar to that of the Janisaries and Strelitz, and by that means made himself more absolute. We may every where observe, says M. de Voltaire, troops, when divided into a number of small bodies, securing the throne, and when united into great bodies, disposing and overturning it. That prince died in 1629.

The kingdom  
weakened by  
despots.

The sophys, or kings, who succeeded him, were despots without vigour, stupified by the effeminacy of the seraglio, and governed by eunuchs, to whom they abandoned the empire. From thence, as has always been the case, proceeded misfortunes, distress, and revolutions. The Turks took Bagdad by assault in 1638. The Afgans, a Tartar colony, settled in the mountains of Candahar, towards the dominions of the Mogul, revolted against a cowardly, cruel government; and their example was followed by the northern provinces. The sophy was besieged in his capital in the year 1722, when he submitted to the chief of the rebels, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage.

While

While Persia was a victim to the barbarities of an usurper, and the Turks on one hand, and the Russians on the other, took advantage of her situation to tear her in pieces, appeared the celebrated Nadir, or Thamas Kouli Kan,\* the son of a shepherd, a shepherd himself, (for the pastoral life is still common in some countries of Asia) who ventured to attempt, and brought about a revolution. Having assembled a troop of banditti, he proffered his services to prince Thamas, the son of the last sophy, and very soon collected an army; when Isfahan and all Persia were obliged to submit to him. The usurper, being defeated and taken prisoner, was condemned to lose his head; and Kouli Kan, who only fought to raise a fortune for himself, after having affected the title of slave to the prince, alone reaped the fruit of all his victories. He caused the eyes of Thamas to be put out, and in the year 1736 became king of Persia, by the name of Sha Nadir. The Turks, having been frequently defeated, concluded a treaty with him, by which they restored all their conquests except Bagdad. Avarice and ambition are equally insatiable. A shepherd, the conqueror of Persia, extends his wishes to the possessions of the Mogul, wants to reduce them under his dominion, seizes his treasures, and carries war into his country.

His usurpation.

The empire of the Mogul, which derives its name from the Tartars of Jenghiz Kan, comprehends a great part of India, the richest country of the universe, whether we consider the valuable and inexhaustible productions of nature, or the immense sums squandered by the Europeans to gratify their luxury. It is in that country chiefly where a despot sunk in voluptuousness reigns over a herd of slaves, degraded below the dignity of human nature; and each of his vassals, or governors of provinces, is a tyrant, who devours the substance of the people. The less these tyrants are acquainted

The empire of the Mogul.

\* That is to say, *Kan the slave of Thamas*. He took that title before he unmasked his ambition.



quainted with law, the more the country is exposed to bloody revolutions.

Aurengzebe, his power & riches.

About the middle of the last century, Aurengzebe, one of the sons of the Great Mogul, dethroned his father, assassinated his three brothers, who were accomplices and instruments of his revolt, and subdued several countries on the western peninsula of India, on this side the Ganges. We are struck with surprise in reading the description which Tavernier gives of his throne, where twelve pillars of gold, enriched with large pearls, support a canopy studded with jewels; upon the summit of which stands a peacock, whose tail is formed of diamonds, and whatever is rich or precious in the world. With this pompous opulence, and the effeminate manners which it inspires, they must be little capable of contending against enemies accustomed to the trade of war.

Kouli Kan subdues the Mogul.

Sha Nadir, better known by the name of Thamas Kouli Kan, under which he at first concealed his ambition, attacked the grandson of Aurengzebe, and, though he had only a very small army in comparison of that of the Mogul, reduced him to surrender himself into his hands. He very soon was master of Delhi, the capital of the empire; plundered the treasure, which was valued at above one hundred and sixty six millions sterling; united three kingdoms of Indostan to Persia, and imposed a tribute upon the rest. In a word, he left the government to a viceroy, and the vain title of emperour to a prince whom he had stript of his possessions. At his return to his own dominions he finished his career unhappily, having been assassinated by his nephew. Such is the fate of triumphant ambition; either a tragical death or perpetual fears and cares! Persia and Indostan have ever since been a prey to civil wars, in which the English and French, who were settled upon the coast, have intermeddled from motives of ambition. Perhaps the Indians may one day profit by their lessons in the art of war, either to exterminate or expel them out of India. So

Revolutions and civil wars.

So many revolutions, which stain the historic page, present nothing but uniform spectacles of sorrow ; but Asia, and especially India, furnish more interesting objects for rational curiosity. In that country we find manners, customs, and opinions, the origin of which is lost in the darkness of ages. There too we see the obstacles opposed to the progress of reason and industry by a slavish respect for antiquity. The Chinese, who were astronomers several ages before even the Greeks had established regular governments, have made almost no improvements since that time, either in the sciences or fine arts. They think they know every thing, and they know but little ; they esteem only their own nation, their own ancestors ; and the Europeans have rapidly surpassed them in every branch, from the time that Europe has produced men of genius, who had sufficient resolution to overcome prejudices.

The Asiatics pay too great a regard to antiquity.

As to the Indians being subdued by barbarians, so far from making any progress, it was impossible but they must fall to decay. That people, on whom nature has bestowed such gentleness and ingenuity ; that people, who were the inventors of chess, of cyphers, and probably of the mathematical sciences, are reduced to the same state with the Greeks whose debasement is so shameful. The doctrine of the metempsychosis still cherishes their sentiments of humanity towards the brute creation. They preserve some monuments of their ancient system of religion, which M. Howel, an Englishman, and M. Anquetil, a Frenchman, have given us as authentic. According to these Indian books, the world was created and governed by an infinite Intelligence ; a number of his most perfect creatures having abused their liberty to disobey him, God has condemned them to live in mortal bodies ; souls are immortal, and will be punished or rewarded according to their deeds. They tell us, that the modern Bramins, the Banians, and the Gentoos, maintain the substance of this doctrine, as the Guebres, who took refuge

Debasement of the Indians.

Their ancient religion.

in

in India, preserve that of Zoroaster ; but what numbers of fables and extravagances have they not added !

Brach-  
mans,  
Dervises,  
& Fakirs.

The ancient Brachmans distinguished themselves by an austerity of manners, frequently excessive, yet founded upon principles of virtue. From the earliest ages, the Brachmans, the Dervises, and Fakirs, those recluses whose numbers have infinitely multiplied in India, are in general mad, knavish fanatics, who endeavour to pass for saints, and deceive the vulgar by frightful penances. An ardent imagination, exalted by the heat of the climate, naturally plunges men's minds into the delirium of superstition ; the more, as an extreme indolence gives up the soul to itself ; which is the origin of so many inconceivable customs. Instances are still to be seen of Indian women, who with an air of gaiety throw themselves upon the burning funeral piles of their husbands, in the hopes of a happy futurity. A people who are at the same time excessively gentle and cowardly, by the strength of superstitious ideas become ferocious, and throw away their own lives.

Women  
who burn  
them-  
selves.

## CONCLUSION.

Advanta-  
ges of mo-  
dern Eu-  
rope over  
Asia.

**W**HEN we reflect upon the misery of the Asia-  
tic nations, though surrounded by all the  
blessings of nature ; when we consider the little progress  
they have made in the improvements of genius, though  
their advances were so prodigious, in comparison of  
ours, before the commencement of the sixteenth centu-  
ry ; above all, when we take a view of the condition of  
the Indians, to whom the earth almost spontaneously  
presents her most delicious productions, while the coun-  
try is rendered nearly a desert by the scourge of despo-  
tism ; when we turn our thoughts upon the extreme  
degeneracy

degeneracy into which every thing falls, in a region of the finest temperature, where even the valour of the Tartars becomes effeminate and inactive; we perceive the whole influence of the climate combined with that of moral causes; and felicitate ourselves on being born in a country where the real blessings of human nature are at the same time more solid and more abundant, because they are the tardy growth of reason, labour, and that creative industry which is roused by necessity, animated by liberty, and enables man to triumph over the obstacles of nature, or rather in some measure subjects nature herself to its laws.

Unhappily, the beneficent effects of knowledge are, in many respects, still crossed by the conflict of passions, errors and abuses; nor can it be questioned, that there is a degree of perfection unattainable by human and political society. Pernicious vices will always spring up in it, and private interest constantly carry on a secret war against the public weal. But if an enlightened and vigorous government undertakes to reform, I do not say all the abuses, (for that is impossible) but at least all those which it is consistent with prudence to eradicate; if simple and impartial laws; supported with equal firmness and humanity, be made the basis of public happiness; if the labours which feed, and the pursuits which usefully instruct the people, meet with encouragement; if the respect usurped by insolent wealth be transferred to virtue and estimable talents; above all, if the members of the state be formed by a judicious education for the different stations they are to fill, instead of youth being wasted in a fruitless study of words, and disgusted against useful knowledge, by being forced to the tiresome task of useless labour; we may venture to predict with confidence, that such a change, if it ever takes place, will produce miracles of happiness and glory in that part of Europe where it shall be put in execution.

How much it is in the power of governments to increase the happiness of the people.

That



Practical  
consequences of  
History.

That error, and almost always absurd error, has been the mother of bad principles, wrong institutions, pernicious laws, and destructive systems, whence have sprung the greatest part of the evils that infest civil society, is a truth which history demonstrates by an endless number of examples. History ought, therefore, to teach kings and statesmen to correct the faults of government, and establish the public good upon its true foundations. It ought to teach the ministers of religion to render it more and more respectable, by the cultivation of truth and virtue; and thus make it an instrument of happiness to the people. It ought to teach persons in a private station, that there is no good without some mixture of evil; that perfection is a chimera; that what is impossible to be altered must be endured; that moderation is equally productive of wisdom and happiness; and lastly, that, to live happily with others, we must be able to live upon good terms with ourselves; an invaluable blessing inseparable from good sense and virtue.

THE END.





















